

**STATUS OF CONFLICT WIDOWS IN NORTH EAST INDIA:  
A CASE STUDY OF MANIPUR**

*Dissertation submitted to Sikkim University for award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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[A Central University established by an Act of Parliament of India, 2007]

Date: 28/02/2015

### **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "Status of Conflict Widows in North East India : A Case Study of Manipur" submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is my original work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**Status of Conflict Widows in North East India : A Case Study of Manipur**" submitted to **Sikkim University** in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in Social Sciences embodies the result of *bona fide* research work carried out by **Pukhrambam Priyabala** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associate-ship and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by her.

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Date: 28/2/2015

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AAGSP	All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad
AASU	All Assam Student Union
AFSPA	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act
ANVC	Achik National Volunteer Council
ASA	Asom Sahitya Sabha
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATTF	All Tripura Tiger Force
BPF	Bodoland People's Front
CorCom	Coordination Committee
CSCHR	Civil Society Coalition on Human Rights
DHD	Dima Haram Daogah
EEVFAM	Extra Judicial Execution Victim Families Association
ENPO	Eastern Naga Peoples Organization
GoI	Government of India
HNLC	Hynniewtreps Achick Liberation Council
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IAC	International Armed Conflict
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IPS	Indian Political Service

JAC	Joint Action Committee
KCP	Kangleipak Communist Party
KNA	Kuki National Army
KNF	Kuki National Front
KNO	Kuki National Organisation
KPLT	Kuki Peoples' Liberation Tigers
KRF	Kuki Revolutionary Front
KYKL	Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup
LWE	Left Wing Extremist
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MHRC	Manipur Human Rights Commission
MNF	Mizo National Front
MoS	Memorandum of Settlement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDFB	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
NEN	North East Network
NER	North East Region
NFA	Naga Federal Army
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission
NIAC	Non-international Armed conflict
NLFT	National Liberation Front of Tripura



NSCN	National socialist Council of Nagaland
NSCN/K	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)
NSCN/IM	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak Muivah)
OAS	Organizaion of American States
PBC	Peace building Commission
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PMSD	President Manipur State Darbar
PREPAK	People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak
PULF	People's United Liberation Front
SATP	South Asia Terrorism Portal
SHRC	State Human Rights Commission
SOG	Special Operations Group
SoO	Suspension of Operations
SPOs	Special Police Officers
STF	Special Task Force
TNV	Tribal National Volunteers
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNLF	United National Liberation Front

UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPF	United People's Front
VO	Voluntary Organisation
ZRA	Zomi Revolutionary Army

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction:

In ethnic conflicts or clashes between state and armed groups, women have always been the targets of violence which is also true in case of Manipur like any other conflict zones of the world. They have been subjected to various forms of torture, sexual abuse, rape, inhuman treatment, punishment, degraded humiliation which causes multi-physical symptoms, psycho-social problem, etc. because of their status and sex. The ongoing conflict in Manipur has left many women as widow and children as orphan. For instance, for every married man killed in the conflict, there emerges a widow and most of them have to take the responsibility of supporting the family through available means. The families of these victims are not only denied justice but are also deprived of the benefits of many government schemes specially designed for the victims of armed conflict. The strong woman movement has failed to ameliorate the situation of the conflict widows of Manipur. Earlier, the victims of conflict were mostly unmarried but in the last two decades, the numbers of married victims have increased significantly.

The genesis of ongoing conflict in Manipur can be traced from the forced merger of the state with India on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1949. People generally term it as “annexation” rather than merger. People of Manipur believe that Bodhachandra Singh (the then king of Manipur) was forced to sign merger agreement with the Government of India and no public consent was taken for it therefore, the merger was illegal. The Indian Dominion, being a member of the United Nation since 1945 has failed to comply with the United Nations Charter Article 2(4) which reads as

*“All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations”*,

By committing aggression to Manipur and thereby breach of peace. Further, United Nation General Assembly Resolutions 2625 (XXV), 1970 and 2734 (1970) provides that

no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal (CORE, 2007: 98).

CNN-IBN in a documentary aired in 2007 has termed the ongoing conflict of Manipur as a “*Hidden War*”. Justice Reddy while reviewing the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 (AFSPA) under the directives of the GOI stated that the problem in Manipur is not merely that of a ‘*law and order*’ but an ‘*internal disturbance*’ which required invoking Article 355 of the Constitution of India<sup>1</sup>. During the period 1980–2007, 2675 civilians, 1314 insurgents were killed while 2061 civilians were injured and 865 armed insurgents surrendered to the government (Hanjabam, 2008). The fatalities put Manipur at the top of the armed violence among the states of India after Jammu and Kashmir. According to an unofficial sources, at least 20,000 people are said to have died due to violence since the conflict began in the 1950s but not much that happens there makes the national news— unless it is a particularly brutal attack by militants (Human Rights Watch, 2008). The Manipur Government at the highest level confirmed that more than 260 people were killed in fake encounters in 2009 in the state of Manipur and DGP affirmed that all of them were underground militants/ activists/ insurgents. It implied that killing an insurgent was justified under any circumstance. In this case, the police being a law enforcing agency was acting as an executioner (Independent Citizens’ Fact Finding Report, 2009).

## **1.2 Review of Literature:**

The available literature relating to the status of conflict in North East India can be categorized into three broad themes:

### **1.2.1 Armed Conflict**

According to the Amnesty International report “The victims of disappearance belong to all ages and professions, including businessmen, lawyers, laborers and farmers- most of whom appear to be ordinary civilians having no connections with armed opposition

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<sup>1</sup> Article 355: says it is the duty of the Union to protect States against external aggression and internal disturbance. It shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

groups operative in Jammu and Kashmir. They include juveniles and old people” (AII, 1999).

According to Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), armed conflict is defined as: “A contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle - related deaths” (UCDP/PRIO, 2009).

According to macro-level studies by Esty et al. (1998a, 1998b) countries with neighbour conflict have an increased risk of experiencing internal conflict (Human Security Center, 2004). Goldstone et al (2010) favoring the same argument suggest that having four or more bordering states with major armed civil or ethnic conflict increases the risk of political instability. Environmental Conditions are also believed to be significant predictors of conflicts. A study of Hegre (2003) supports this argument by finding mountainous countries to have a higher risk of war than other countries as they provide rebels with natural sanctuaries. In a similar vein Fearon and Laitin (2003) suggest that environmental conditions favoring insurgents are significant predictors of civil wars (Blattman and Miguel, 2006).

Hussain (2009) stated that India’s North Eastern frontier is one of South Asia’s hottest trouble spot. He highlighted the Nagas’ homeland dream and how its aspirations have affected other tribal communities of the region also.

Nirendra Dev (2009) pointed out the reasons for the emergence of insurgents in North East India like Assam, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and the aid extended by foreign country for insurgents.

Civil Society Coalition on Human Rights (CSCHR) in Manipur and the UN (2012) elaborates on the political and historical context of the armed conflict prevailing in Manipur mainly extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions. It provides information on lacunae in the investigation, absence of a witness protection programme and issues concerning impunity, justice and reparation for the victims’ families. It also gives the chronological documentation on extrajudicial executions in Manipur since 1979 till May 2012.

### **1.2.2 Women and Conflict**

In conflict situations, women and children are the most vulnerable due to their status and sex. Many cases of rape and sexual assault have also gone unreported due to fear of social stigmatization and the attached perceived threats. Violence in the form of threats and intimidations by the armed outfits for not fulfilling their dictates has also been on the rise (Singh Hanjabam Amal, 2011). This is strengthened by the observation of the United Nations Security Council in 1999 which states “civilians account for the vast majority of casualties in armed conflicts and are increasingly targeted by combatants and armed elements”.

South Asia is not an exception to it. The region is one of the most conflict prone regions of the world. Women are the worst sufferers of conflict either directly or indirectly leaving no choice of negotiation with the conflict situations either at the local level or in the national level. Women in the present discussion are the mothers who lost their sons, widows or half widows who lost their men in fratricidal killings, or in encounter and who is struggling to survive as a female headed households with all household responsibilities. In fact, women experience domestic and political violence that stretches from the home, to the street to the battlefield (Manchanda, R. 2001).

In the writ petition filed by Extra Judicial Execution Victim Families Association (EEVFAM) in the Supreme Court of India under Writ Petition (Criminal) No.129 of 2012, it is stated that during the period May, 1979 to May, 2012, 1528 people were killed in Manipur including 98 children in extra-judicial execution by the police and the security forces in Manipur. So, it is not only the people killed but the family who is also a victim of such illegal activities.

Judy El Bushra and Eugenia Piza Lopez (1994) have analyzed conflicts by various factors such as historical, economic, political and military. The gender analysis of development has tended towards two main approaches. First, it looks at gender from a broadly economic perspective, seeing the issue of differential access to and control over resources as the critical factor in social processes. Secondly, it centres on issues of



women's needs and status ('condition' and 'position') and subsumes debates about poverty and disempowerment in this political analysis. It also discusses the case studies on how conflict changes women's lives as individuals (the personal sphere), as members of the family or household (the private sphere) and as members of the community (the public sphere).

Margaret Owen (1996) explores the process of becoming a widow from around the world. She highlights the discrimination done to the widows regarding inheritance rights, land ownership, custody of children, security of home and shelter, nutrition and health. She also highlights the different laws and customs regarding widows' inheritance and the situation of those who remarry.

Zehol, L.T.V. (1998) highlighted the role played by women of both the hill region of Manipur inhabited by the tribal groups and Imphal valley inhabited by the non-tribal Meiteis organizing themselves during all periods of their history and taking active part in the social and political activities of the society.

Judith and Michelle (2001) highlighted the distinctive experiences of women affected by armed conflict in various categories- the deliberate killing of civilian women; "collateral damage" and women; violence against women; displaced and refugee women; women in detention; reinforced gender stereotypes; loss of family members; loss of social position; economic effects of armed conflict; access to essential supplies and services; women combatants.

Walter Fernandes and Sanjay Barbora (2002) has analysed the demographic, educational, economic and social data of six tribes (the Aka of Arunachal Pradesh, the Angami of Nagaland, the Adibasi and Boro of Sonitpur District and the Dimasa of North Cachar Hills of Assam and the Garo of Meghalaya) to study the impact of change in women's status. Article 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (2006) highlighted how every mother has a similar story to tell regarding illegal arrest, arbitrary detention and torture in Manipur shown by the case studies which occurred in 2005 and 2006.

Choudhury (2009) has studied the impact of armed conflict on the women of Nalbari district of Assam by categorizing the conflict affected women into “The Seven Roles Framework” as Women Relatives, Friends of Armed Activists; Wives of Missing Militants; Women Relatives of State Armed Forces and State Officials; Women as Victims of Sexual or Physical Abuse or Bullets; Women as Shelter Providers; Women Militants or Combatants; and Women as Peace Negotiators followed by thorough case study. Civil Society Coalition on Human Rights (CSCHR) in Manipur and the UN (2011) highlights the human rights violations in Manipur and the attached economic, social and cultural rights of indigenous peoples in Manipur. Frank (2011) narrates for the first time the stories of five young widows from Manipur who call themselves as “gun widows”.

### **1.2.3 Institutional Response**

The general trend in Manipur is that when a person (or a victim due to mere suspicion) is killed, particularly in fake encounters, a Joint Action Committee (JAC) is formed to investigate that particular case. But the government remains undeterred as justice is a far cry in Manipur. Retired Sessions Judge C. Upendra has headed twelve such enquiries himself, and found in all cases the encounters were fake, though none of his reports was made public. Similarly, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Philip Alston, reported to the UN Human Rights Council in 2007 that despite the government of Manipur ordering “numerous inquiries into the alleged extrajudicial executions, none of them ultimately reached any meaningful conclusions”. Petitions seeking the whereabouts of 17 persons who “disappeared” between 1980 and 2000 are still pending in the courts. The Manipur Human Rights Commission (MHRC) has also been made dysfunctional after its proactive intervention in such cases.

The half widows cannot get the ex-gratia relief provided to the widows of those killed in violence. They also cannot claim help from the Social Welfare Department; moreover, they do not even figure in the government sponsored Rehabilitation Council for Militancy victims as beneficiaries (Jaleel, 1999).

Mohanty, M and Anil, K. Singh (2001) provides a detailed insight into the roles of government in voluntary efforts, Voluntary Organisation (VO) – Government

relationships, and government policies towards VOs, programmes and assistance provided to them by various Departments and ministries of government of India. Gunjan (2005) analyzed the general problems faced by Manipur with their causes and results like only three representatives in the Parliament, number of UG groups, lack of governance, AFSPA 1958, hill valley divide, drugs addiction especially among the youth. He stated economic problems and some of the possible remedies for economic assets.

Swarna Rajagopalan (2008) examines the efficacy and utility of 13 peace accords signed from 1949-2005 in bringing an end to conflict in North East India with the goals of : making recommendations to policymakers involved in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts in India; and increasing internal understanding of the role of peace accords in creating conditions for sustainable peace.

The available literature indicates that various writings have been emphasized on armed conflict. It failed to bring out the situations of the conflict widows as there are hardly few books dealing with it. Moreover, the case studies which they had conducted for the conflict widows was for 2005-2007 so there is a huge gap when compared to recent documentation which is not available. So, the proposed research is to fill the gaps and study the present status of conflict widows taking Manipur as a case study.

### **1.3 Rationale and scope of the study:**

It is accepted by all section of the society that there is an emerging group of widows whose husband were killed by the state and non-state forces. But, the mechanism to support them is very limited. Presently, only a few NGOs in Manipur such as the Conflict Widows Forum, Manipur Gun Survivors Network and Women in Governance etc. have extended support within their limited capacities. Most of them are not aware about the exact situation of the widows as none of them have carried out a comprehensive survey so far. But everyone agrees that the situation need an urgent attention. It is also not ascertain whether the help extended to the limited widows bear results or only a limited numbers of widows are in regular touch with aiding organizations. Besides, documentation as well as research in this area are very limited in the NGO sector focusing the conflict widows as well as in the academic circle. Therefore, the propose

research will add substantial value to the existing literature. The findings of the study will be shared with the Government of India, Civil Society groups and NGOs to who are willing to come up with target oriented policy and programmes and really wish to make difference in the lives of the conflict widows in Manipur.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study:**

1. To identify the determinants of armed conflict.
2. To understand the impact of armed conflict on society.
3. To examine the conflict widows in North East India.
4. To examine the status of conflict widows in Manipur.
5. To explore the government and NGOs activities and policies related to conflict widows.

#### **1.5 Research Questions:**

1. What are the determinants of armed conflict?
2. What are the impacts of armed conflict on society?
3. What is the status of conflict widows in Manipur?
4. What are the government and NGO activities and policies related to conflict widows?

#### **1.6 Hypothesis:**

The support mechanism of government and NGO institutions are not sufficient to address the issues of conflict widows in Manipur.

#### **1.7 Methodology of the Study:**

The methodology used will be exploratory research design as very few studies have been carried out in this area particularly in the context of Manipur. The study will follow the qualitative method of enquiry. Purposive sampling will be done using snowball technique as there are few records of conflict widows. The study will be based on the selected NGOs working for the conflict widows based in Imphal. Sample size of around 50 conflict widows will be collected. Data will be collected from the primary as well as secondary sources. Interview method (secondary data) will be use for the primary data collection. Focus group discussion and case study method will also be use to collect the data. Secondary data will also be collected from books, magazine, journals, press release etc. Unpublished works will also be collected for the study.

## **1.8 Chapterization:**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter will outline the nature, rationale, scope, objectives, hypothesis and methodology of the study. It will give an outline regarding the emergence of armed conflict based on international, national, local perspective and how it has impacted on women and children. It will also highlight the structure of the study.

### **Chapter 2: Armed conflict: An Overview**

This chapter will outline regarding armed conflict from international, national and regional perspectives and the various theories related to armed conflict from the available review of literature. It will also discuss the general impact of armed conflict in a society, particularly on women.

### **Chapter 3: Conflict widows in North East India**

This chapter will highlight the conflict situations in North East India and its impact on conflict widows and their gradual rise in numbers due to the ongoing conflict.

### **Chapter 4: Status of conflict widows in Manipur**

This chapter will analyze the status of conflict widows based on the field work conducted in Manipur. It will also discuss the mechanisms developed by them for their livelihood and the interventions by the government and NGOs.

### **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

This chapter will give an overview of conflict widows in North East India particularly Manipur. It will also discuss the role of the government and NGOs.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **ARMED CONFLICT: AN OVERVIEW**

## CHAPTER 2

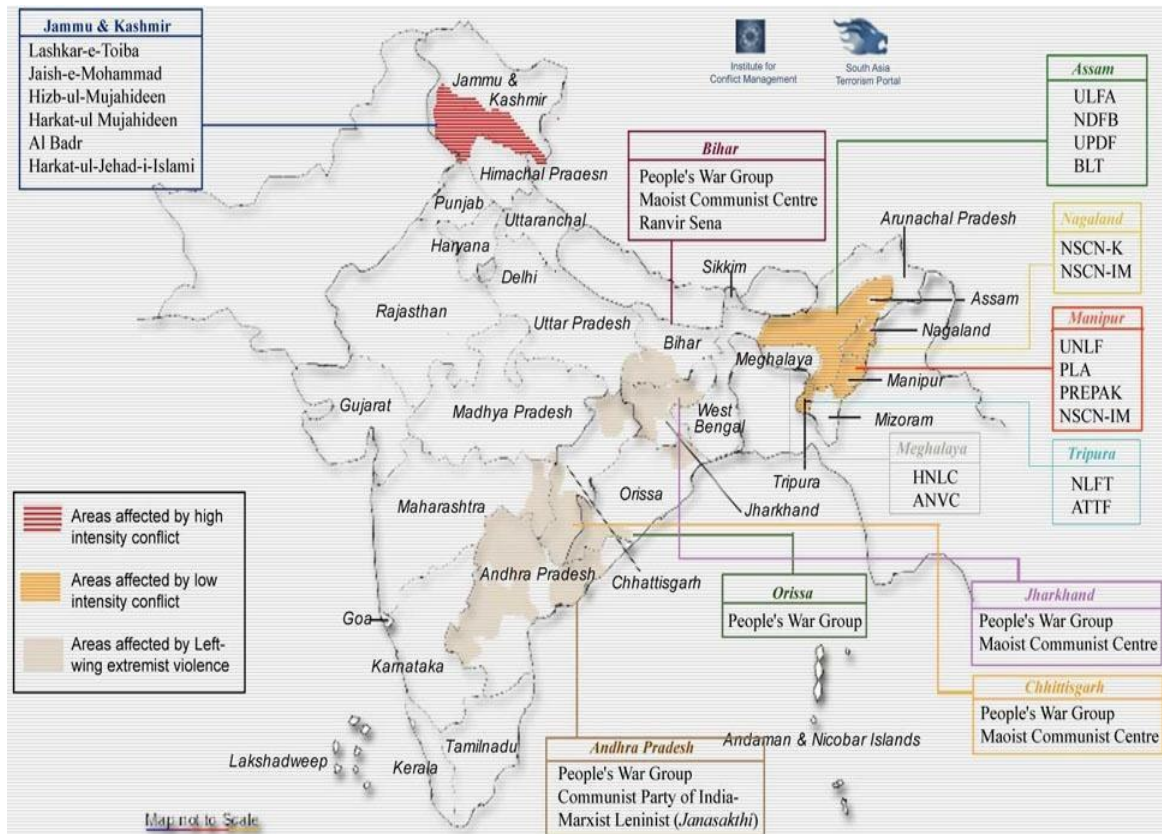
### ARMED CONFLICT: AN OVERVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction:

Conflicts are generally multi dimensional. To some it refers to behavior or action. Conflict can occur when two states are at war with one another. Conflict consists of severe disagreement between the parties involved where their demands cannot be met by the same resources at the same time. In general, conflict is a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment the same sets of available set of scarce resources (Wallensteen, 2002). Conflicts can be classified as interstate (between two or more governments), intrastate (between a government and a non-government party), or intrastate with foreign involvement (the government or opposition party or both receive troop support from other governments). UCDP classifies conflicts into three intensity levels: minor (at least 25 battle-related deaths per year and fewer than 1,000 battle-related deaths during the course of the conflict), intermediate (at least 25 battle-related deaths per year and an accumulated total of at least 1,000 deaths but fewer than 1,000 in any given year), and war (at least 1,000 battle-related deaths per year) (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, Gurr, & Heldt, 2012). For the purpose of the chapter, the issue of conflict between states and intrastate will be discuss with particular reference to armed conflict. Uppsala University's Conflict Data Program (UCDP) reported there were 33 active conflicts in the world in 2013. At least 25 battle-related deaths is classify consider as active conflict while more than 1,000 lives is classify as war. UCDP has been reporting violent conflicts since the 1970s. As per the report, the number of active conflicts in the world has remained relatively stable over the past ten years that fluctuates between 31 and 37 as compared to the period right after the end of the Cold War, where more than 50 conflicts were active. The war like conflict has also declined by more than 50 percent since the early 1990s with 15 to seven in 2013.

#### 2.2 Armed Conflicts in India:

Indian state has been confronted by various degrees of political violence ranging from right to self-determination (external and internal) to demanding new areas of governance, even after 68 years of independence. It has affected more than half of the Indian state and can be broadly divided into three zone in India such as (i) Jammu and Kashmir zone, (ii) Naxalite zone and (iii) Northeast zone.



**Figure 2.1:** Conflict Areas in India

**Source:** South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2003.

### 2.2.1 Jammu and Kashmir zone

After the partition of India and Pakistan both claimed J&K, a Muslim majority region which had been the site of three Indo-Pakistani wars (1947-8, 1965 and 1999). The Delhi Agreement between the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Jammu and



Kashmir National Conference leader, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah after the first Kashmir war limited the GoI writ in Kashmir to questions of defense, foreign affairs, currency and communications. But it was short lived after Abdullah's dismissal in 1953 which resulting the National Conference in freely engagement in various forms of political wrongdoings including the intimidation of political opponents, electoral corruption, etc.

Special Operations Group (SOG) of the Jammu and Kashmir Police known as Special Task Force (STF) officers and ranks are given promotions and huge amount of financial rewards in accordance with the number of militants they kill, force to surrender or the arms they recover. In such a situation many atrocities are committed against the civilians by the militants and security forces which included extrajudicial executions, disappearances, death. Regular harassment, mistreatment, rude questioning and frisking are faced by the citizens while checking by the security forces and police. Sometimes women's veils are also lifted to confirm whether they are women or men who are in disguise leading to humiliation. Amnesty International compiled as 10,000 disappearances since 1990 based on media reports and local sources. Complaints of around 708 had also been received by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and to the Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) with regards to human rights violations between 1996 and 1999 excluding the security forces.

<b>Table 2.1: TRENDS OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE IN J &amp; K</b>				
Year	Incidents	SFs killed	Civilians killed	Terrorists killed
2005	1990	189	557	917
2006	1667	151	389	591
2007	1092	110	158	472
2008	708	75	91	339
2009	499	79	71	239
2010	488	69	47	232
2011	340	33	31	100

2012	220	15	15	72
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**Source:** Annual Report of Ministry of Home Affairs, 2012-13

The above table highlights that the number of incidents has reduced from the year 2005 to 2012 which is a sign of improvement in the state.

### **2.2.2 Naxalite zone**

The movement began as a peasant uprising in the village of Naxalbari in north Bengal on issues of land in 1967. It later led to large scale urban guerrilla battle concentrating in Kolkata. Youths and students were the main supporters in 1960s. Formation of small guerrillas units resulted in encounter killings, arbitrary jail firings and deaths, custodial abuse and torture in the early 1970s which is considered as one of the darkest periods in the history of Independent India. The CPI (Maoist), the most violent LWE (Left wing Extremist) group which has been included in the Schedule of Terrorist Organisations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 is accountable for more than 80% of the violence and killings. Government of India has identified 26 districts in the country as highly Naxal-affected with 80% violence in the last three years being reported from there and the districts are spread over seven Maoist-hit states – Chhattisgarh (Bastar, Bijapur, Dantewada, Kanker, Kondagaon, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon and Sukma), Jharkhand (Garhwa, Giridih, Gumla, Khunti, Latehar, Palamu, Simdega and West Singhbhum), Odisha (Koraput, Malkangiri and Bolangir), Bihar (Aurangabad, Gaya, and Jamui), Andhra Pradesh (Khammam and Visakhapatnam), Maharashtra (Gadchiroli) and West Bengal (West Midnapore). More than 600 people were killed in Naxal violence in last three years across the country and former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had termed the menace as India's biggest internal security threat (Hindustan Times, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 2013).

From 2004-2010, there were 2298 attacks by Naxalites in which 538 police and paramilitary personnel, 169 SPOs, 32 government employees and 1064 villagers had been killed. As a consequence on 5<sup>th</sup> July, 2011 the Supreme Court asked the state to disband the SPOs forces and Salwa Judum. “Salwa Judum” or Peace March formed in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh in 2005 as a result of anger towards Maoist strike on

collecting tendu leaves and opposition of road construction took violence form when the state appointed special police officers (SPOs) among the youngsters and armed them resulting in atrocities.

**Table 2.2: State-wise Left wing Extremist violence from 2009 to 2012**

State	2009		2010		2011		2012	
	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths
Andhra Pradesh	66	18	100	24	54	09	67	13
Bihar	232	72	307	97	316	63	166	44
Chhattisgarh	529	290	625	343	465	204	370	109
Jharkhand	742	208	501	157	517	182	480	163
Madhya Pradesh	1	0	7	1	08	0	11	0
Maharashtra	154	93	94	45	109	54	134	41
Odisha	266	67	218	79	192	53	171	45
Uttar Pradesh	8	2	6	1	1	0	02	0
West Bengal	255	158	350	258	92	45	06	0
Others	5	0	5	0	06	01	08	0
Total	2258	908	2213	1005	1760	611	1415	415

**Source:** Annual Report of Ministry of Home Affairs, 2012-13

### 2.2.3 Northeast zone

Northeast comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim. The root causes for conflict are discussed.

**Nagaland:** In case of Nagaland, an armed rebellion in 1955 under the leadership of Angami Zapu Phizo. The original Naga Federal Army (NFA) was displaced by the National socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), led by Isak chishi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah in 1980. But, trivial differences led to inter-factional violence between National

Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak Muivah) (NSCN/IM) and National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang) (NSCN/K). Moreover, the demand by the Eastern Naga Peoples Organization (ENPO), an apex body of six Naga tribes for creation of a separate State comprising the four eastern districts of Nagaland (Mon, Tuensang, Kiphire and Longleng) and two districts (Tirap and Changlang) of Arunachal Pradesh led to conflict.

The Naga society is seething with multiple tensions intermittently erupting into morbid fratricidal violence. The wars in Zunheboto between the local Sema Nagas and the NSCN (I-M) that left several dead and scores injured on both sides, the discovery of mass graves in and around Dimapur, and the closing of ranks by six tribes of eastern Nagaland — Chang, Konyak, Phom, Khaimniungan, Yimchunger and Sangtan — for a protracted fight for political and administrative separation from other tribes of Nagaland are some of the latest grim portents of their fraught predicament. Over 1,800 Nagas have been killed in some 3,000 fratricidal clashes since the beginning of the ‘ceasefire’ (1997-2013). Contrast it with the violence during the 17 years preceding the ‘ceasefire’ (1980-96) that took a toll of some 940 Naga lives in 1,125 clashes mostly with the security forces. The irony is underscored by the fact that while the security forces and the NSCN (I-M) have been at mutual ‘peace’ during the ‘ceasefire,’ twice as many Nagas have died, killing one another in some 300 per cent escalation in fratricidal violence (Ravi, 2014).

**Tripura:** After independence of India, many Hindu Bengali entered Tripura which reduced the indigenous tribals to minority in their own land and also land alienation of the tribals are the main cause to ethnic conflict. Though Tripura Land Reforms and Restoration Act, 1964 was amended it failed to prevent alienation of tribal land to non-tribal groups leading to tribal insurgency causing major violence and widespread terror. In 2004, in a statement to the State Assembly, Revenue Minister Keshab Majumdar said that extremist led violence had led to the forced displacement of 20,494 families from seven sub-divisions. According to official statistics, the number of families forced to abandon their homes and villages was 4,340 in Longtarai, 1,196 in Kanchanpur and 504 in Jugalkishore Nagar and other areas of West District were forced to leave their villages in 2000, and had to be resettled in newly formed cluster villages where people

have been assured of houses with drinking water facilities, sanitation, basic education and employment under poverty alleviation scheme. Different factions of both the ATTF (All Tripura Tiger Force) and the NLFT (National Liberation Front of Tripura), in order to make their existence felt, have carried out savage attacks on poor people in the dead of night. Muslim families that live along the border are also victims of violence, and vulnerable to forced eviction (Tripura HDR, 2007). People have been subjected to campaigns of extortions, different forms of physical violence and to murderous attack by the extremists.

**Meghalaya:** The conflict in Meghalaya is mainly because of demands by Hynniewtreps Achik Liberation Council (HNLC) for transformation of Meghalaya into a state exclusively for Khasi tribe mainly dominated by Garos and Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) for 'Achik Land' in the areas of Garo hills in Meghalaya and large parts of Kamrup and Goalpara districts of Assam. During late eighties, Bengali, Bihari and Marwari communities became the target for ethnic cleansing. The ethnic conflict which took place between Rabha and Garo communities in December 2010 and January 2011 over the issues of legislative and executive status of the Rabha dominated Rabha Hajong Autonomous Council led to death of ten people and displacement of more than 50,000 persons from both communities unlike the other north eastern states that took serious violent form. According to *South Asia Terrorism Portal* database the number of fatalities is increasing year by year with 2014 as 74 (22 civilians, 6 SF, 46 militants) which is lower in 2013 -60 (28 civilians, 9 SF, 23 militants) and even lower in 2012-48 (27 civilians, 2 SF, 19 militants).

**Assam:** After India's independence, the movement started when migrants particularly Bengali speaking started creating threat to Assamese economic and cultural survival. Initially though the tribals raised the issue, the Assamese mainland was relatively peaceful. But since the late 1970s when the saffron parties raised hue and cry about the Bangladeshi Muslim, the entire state got engulfed into a cauldron of violence. The situation in Assam became acute after a tribunal set up by the Chief Election Commissioner, detected 45,000 voters as foreigners in Mangaldoi constituency of Darrang district. The magnitude of the presence of foreigners in one constituency

shocked the people of Assam. This gave birth to the Assam Agitation, which was super headed by “All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad” (AAGSP) which was formed on 27th August 1979, All Assam Student Union (AASU), and Asom Sahitya Sabha (ASA). AAGSP was essentially a political mouth piece of All Assam Student Union (AASU). It soon spread its tentacles all over Assam, particularly the Barahmaputra Valley (Singh Rajinder, 2009). During the Assam agitation, some militant organizations like Assam Fighters’ Union, Assam Matri Mukhi Bahin, Jagriti Matri Mukti Bahini and Assam People’s Liberation Army came into being and they gave a ‘militant’ turn to the agitation (Tarapot 1994). The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was formally constituted in 7th April 1979 at the deserted Rang Ghar pavilion in Sibsagar, once the seat of the Ahom kingdom. It was formed under the leadership of Rajiv Konwar, better known as Arobindo Rajkhowa; Golap Barua, also known as Arup Chetia; Samiran Gogoi and Pares Baruah with the objectives of liberating Assam through Armed national liberation struggle from the clutches of the illegal occupation of India and to establish a sovereign Independent Assam. ULFA supported the boycott of poll of 1983 by AASU and AAGSP until the names of illegally settled “foreigners” were deleted (Das, 2007).

In response to the armed movement, GOI launched the counter insurgency campaigns. The Indian Army conducted operations during which the civilians were threatened, harassed, raped, assaulted and killed. Arbitrary arrest was also common. On the other hand militant groups have also engaged in violent activities such as bombings, kidnapping and assassinations from 1988 to 1990. The state and the rebel group had clearly been political adversaries, each fencing off the other during the early turbulent phase over ideas of democracy, resource ownership, development and representations of the Assamese. That the rebels easily built a social support base that rallied around them and offered ideological and more sanction had sustained the outfit much beyond its own expectation perhaps (Prabhakara, 2003). Ethnic conflicts have also been going on with regards to resources between the Assamese, Bengalis and the tribals. The ethnic violence that took place in Kokrajhar in the month of July-August 2012 resulted to the death of 99 lives. According to the *Annual Report 2012-2013* a total of 27 persons, including 5 SF personnel, were killed in 169 incidents of violence perpetrated by United Liberation Front of Asom [ULFA (anti-talk)], National Democratic Front of Bodoland [NDFB (anti-

talk)], Kuki Peoples' Liberation Tigers (KPLT) and other UGs upto 31<sup>st</sup> December 2012, as compared to the killing of 18 persons, including 14 SF personnel, in 145 incidents during the corresponding period in the previous year.

**Mizoram:** Mizo National Front (MNF), formerly known as Mizo National Famine Front formed on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1961 under the leadership of Laldenga Mizo demanded for a Greater Mizoram which included the borderline territories of Tripura, Manipur and Cachar district of Assam leading to the rise of insurgency. As a consequence the Government of India sent in many army battalions and para-military forces which became a battlefield. The insurgents took to the jungles and kept ambushing and killing men of the armed forces started collecting taxes at the point of gun and ran a parallel government (Lalnithanga, 2005). The year 1966 to 1970 is referred as the "Dark Period" as hundreds of people lost their lives and thousands imprisoned. On 30 June 1986, an agreement called Mizo Accord was signed between Pu Laldenga on behalf of MNF and the Union Home Secretary, Mr. R.D. Pradhan on behalf of the government. Pu Lalkhama, Chief Secretary of Mizoram also signed the agreement and became a full-fledged state on 20 February 1987. According to the *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (SATP) database, total fatalities for the year 2014 till 30<sup>th</sup> November 2014 is 2 civilians. Remarkably in 2013, 2012 and 2010 it is zero. 1 civilian each for 2011 and 2009. 2008 is 5 (SF 4, 1 militant), 2007 is 8 (2 civilians, 6 militants), 2006 is 2 (1 civilian, 1 militant), 2005 (2 civilians). The reduction in the number of fatalities is a sign of peace in the state.





<b>Table 2.3: SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTH EASTERN STATES DURING THE YEARS 2005-2012</b>								
<b>Head</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>ASSAM</b>								
Incidents	398	413	474	387	424	251	145	169
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	544	752	759	1237	1259	1026	542	1228
SFs killed	7	32	27	18	22	12	14	5
Civilians killed	173	164	287	245	152	53	18	27
<b>MEGHALAYA</b>								
Incidents	37	38	28	16	12	29	56	127
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	108	112	85	88	67	119	107	128
SFs killed	0	0	01	02	-	-	8	1
Civilians killed	1	6	9	01	03	4	12	36
<b>TRIPURA</b>								
Incidents	115	87	94	68	19	30	13	6
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	212	196	303	382	308	155	44	61
SFs killed	11	14	6	03	01	2	-	-
Civilians killed	28	14	14	10	08	2	1	-
<b>ARUNACHAL PRADESH</b>								
Incidents	32	16	35	28	53	32	53	54
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	58	23	53	26	108	116	95	57
SFs killed	1	0	5	-	-	-	-	-
Civilians killed	3	0	12	3	3	2	2	4
<b>NAGALAND</b>								
Incidents	192	309	272	321	129	64	61	151
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	141	203	211	460	206	264	275	345
SFs killed	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	-
Civilians killed	28	29	44	70	16	-	7	8
<b>MIZORAM</b>								
Incidents	4	5	2	1	1	-	1	-
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	210	848	21	13	-	-	6	2
SFs killed	0	0	0	4	-	-	-	-
Civilians killed	2	0	2	-	1	-	-	-
<b>MANIPUR</b>								
Incidents	554	498	584	740	659	367	298	518
Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered	1186	1097	1443	2112	1896	1626	1677	1701
SFs killed	50	28	39	16	19	06	10	8
Civilians killed	158	96	130	137	81	33	26	21

**Source:** Annual Report of Ministry of Home Affairs, 2012-13.

***Present Peace Process:*** An Agreement of Suspension of Operations (SoO) had been signed by Government of India, Government of Assam and NDFB on 24.05.2005. Government has signed Suspension of Operations (SoO) Agreement with the Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) in Meghalaya w.e.f. 23.07.2004 In Meghalaya, Memorandum of Settlement with ANVC has been finalised. The groups which have entered into SoO Agreement are National Democratic Front Bodoland (NDFB)/P, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC), Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and United People's Front (UPF). Cease fire with all factions of National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) continues. Peace talks with NDFB/P and ULFA in Assam and ANVC in Meghalaya are going on. Talks with NDFB/PT are continuing. Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) was signed on 08.10.2012 by the Central Government, Government of Assam and the factions of Dima Haram Daogah (DHD) and DHD (joel) group).

***Manipur*** was contentiously merged with the Indian Union on 15 October 1949. The merger issue led to the emergence of armed movement particularly Red Guard in 1949, United National Liberation Front (UNLF) in 1964; People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (1977), People's Liberation Army (1978), Kangleipak Communist Party (1980). They demand for independent Manipur has been responded military even to the extent of imposition of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 by the government of India.

According to the *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (SATP) database, total fatalities, at 110 [25 civilians, 12 Security Forces-SFs, 73 militants] in 2012, reduced to just half, at 55, in 2013 with 21 civilians, six SFs and 28 militants killed in 10 incidents. 2013 recorded 76 incidents of bomb blast, in which 24 people were killed and 103 were injured; 107 incidents of explosion had been recorded in 2012, though the total fatalities were nine, and 90 persons were injured. Of the 107 blasts in 2012, CorCom (Coordination Committee) was responsible for 33; 28 of the 76 incidents in 2013 were attributed to CorCom. 2013 data also demonstrates a sharp lethality of bomb attacks, despite their reduction in frequency. Militant fatalities registered a sharp decline in 2013, with 28

killed, as against 73 in 2012. There were 13 incidents of encounters between militants and SFs, resulting in 15 militant fatalities, in 2013, while 2012 registered a total of 33 encounters, in which 48 militants were killed. There were no SFs fatalities in these encounters. At least 273 militants surrendered in 2013, as against 303 in 2012. In the most significant incident of the year, on September 9, 2013, 149 cadres belonging to three different underground organisations laid down arms and signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and Suspension of Operations (SoO) pact with the Government. The groups that laid down arms included 44 cadres of the Nongdrenkhomba faction of Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP-Nongdrenkhomba), 50 of the Kuki National Liberation Front (KNLF) and 55 of the Kuki Revolutionary Front (KRF).

The peace process in Manipur is mostly with the non-proscribed groups. There are two process going on now such as Suspension of Operation (SoO) and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). SoO is between the Government and the two umbrella organizations of Chin-Kuki-Mizos outfits, Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and the United Peoples Front (UPF) has also been extended for another one year, with effect from August 30, 2013, at a tripartite meeting held at New Delhi. There are four groups that are currently under the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU).

### **2.3 International Humanitarian Law and Armed Conflict:**

International Humanitarian Law, IHL broadly deals with (i) International Armed Conflict and (ii) Non-International Armed Conflict.

**2.3.1 *International Armed Conflict (IAC):*** The conflict between opposing two or more States is considered as IAC. It can also generally understand as interstate conflict. The characteristics of IAC or Interstate armed conflict in the developing world are (Riad A. Attar, 2009).<sup>1</sup>The conflicts are dyadic, occurring between two states without direct interference from other states. Examples include conflicts between India and Pakistan, Iran and Iraq, and Libya and Chad.

1. The military operations are conducted on the peripheries of the participating states, not in their centers. Both states avoid the population centers; therefore, economic activities continue without disruption during conflicts. An example is the Iran-Iraq War.

2. Usually, one or both countries receive military and economic assistance from one or more major powers. For example, during the Pakistani-Indian conflict over Bangladesh, the former received assistance from the United States of America, while the latter received assistance from the former Soviet Union. The military and economic assistance contributed positively to the general state of the economies in both countries.
3. Countries engage in intermittent military operations. Although interstate conflicts continue, military activities are not continuous. There are some intermittent bursts, but they do not last long. Examples are Eritrea versus Ethiopia, Libya versus Chad, and Pakistan versus India over Kashmir.
4. Interstate conflicts may induce the rally-round-the flag effect; the domestic front might grow stronger than it is during ordinary times, and the motivation for productivity might be enhanced.

**2.3.2 Non-international Armed conflict (NIAC):** Armed conflicts between governmental forces and nongovernmental armed groups, or between such groups only is considered as NIAC as per Article 3 common to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. It is also generally referred as intrastate conflict. Conflict Barometer reported that over 80 percent-314 of the 396 conflicts monitored-were intrastate in 2012. Internal or intrastate conflicts have far more damaging effects on economic growth than interstate conflicts, whether weapons are involved, such as between the Kurdish and the Iranians or the Iraqis and the Turks, or passive domestic clashes like the one between the Iraqi Shia and Sunni sects during Saddam Hussein's regime. There are two levels of armed conflicts:

1. They can be destructive when military operations are conducted in cities and towns of a country, which harms the infrastructure, the flow of business, and kills or injures innocent individuals.
2. They can be passive. During times of non-military operations (truce, ceasefire, or agreements between the central government and the "rebels"), the dissatisfied populace continues passive resistance against central government development programs, or at least they do not participate fully to achieve the government's objective.

The conflict occurring in the North Eastern States of India can be included under non-international armed conflict as most of the conflict is inter-ethnic conflict, intra-ethnic and state versus people which are highlighted in the preceding chapter.

#### **2.4 Impact of Armed Conflict:**

Armed conflict changes the distribution of material wealth, impacts subtly on social norms, and creates opportunities for some actors to take on new social roles and positions in society (Keen, 2008). It has profound negative effects on human capital, thereby sustaining poverty and slowing down economic recovery (Justino, 2007: 6). Each year, at least 250,000 people die in armed conflicts, most of which occur within, rather than between, states and in the past three years an especially brutal civil war in Syria has killed upwards of 100, 000 people. Armed conflict and its aftermath corrode virtually every aspect of society: law and order, human rights, socioeconomic development, education, basic health services, and the environment. The global economic costs of insecurity generated by conflicts amount to an estimated \$400 billions each year. At the same time, conflict prevention, mitigation, and response are global concerns, because instability often spills across borders and triggers piracy, drug trafficking, small –arms sales, environmental exploitation, and terrorism.

Conflicts tend to affect food security by creating food shortages. In conflict situations, food producing regions experience seizing or destroying of food stocks, livestock and other assets, interrupting marketed supplies of food not only in these regions but also in neighboring regions. Any food that the militias and armies cannot use immediately in the contested areas will be destroyed to prevent their adversaries from accessing it. The farming populations tend to flee, decline or stop farming. Recruitment of young male men into militias and thousands of battle-related deaths not only will reduce family income but also take away labor from agriculture. Due to landmines, agricultural lands become inaccessible for years, harvests are destroyed and fields cannot be cultivated. Rural populations that depend on these fields for food are prevented from farming, therefore creating a breach in agricultural and food production (Messer et al., 2000: 5).

The demographic composition of a society shifts dramatically in times of armed conflict, due to persons, predominantly men, taking up arms, fleeing for fear of conscription, being arrested, killed or remaining unaccounted for. As a corollary, women are often the initiators of requests for news of family members. Women are often unaccompanied during times of armed conflict when their male relatives (who ordinarily comprise part of the social network of protection) have fled the area, are detained, missing or engaged in hostilities. Trafficking may increase in a conflict situation owing both to the breakdown of political, legal, economic and social structures and to increased militarization. Women made vulnerable by war are frequently abducted from, or coerced to leave, refugee and displacement camps, or tricked by traffickers when seeking employment. Women comprise a significant component of internally displaced and refugee populations, and often head households as a result of being separated from male family members. Women and girls who have been abducted from their communities and used by armed groups in support roles can find themselves in a situation amounting to displacement at the end of the conflict. Family separation increases the vulnerability of displaced women to economic hardship or threats to their physical integrity.

Long-lasting conflicts limit the ability of women to transmit traditional knowledge relating to childcare and basic health and hygiene, owing to the destruction of the family and community. As people affected by conflict become poorer, medical services renders even more difficult for women to have a choice regarding their reproductive health (for example, accessing gynaecological and obstetric assistance). Women victims of sexual violence endure a wide range of health consequences including: obstructed labour; sterility; incontinence; vaginal fistulas and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). In Rwanda, 17 percent of women who were survivors of genocide, and 67 percent of rape survivors were HIV positive (Mc Ginn, 2000). Fertility can be depressed as a result of lower coital frequency, as couples are separated by male out-migration and male combat duties, and poor nutritional status and stress lower fecundity and increase spontaneous abortions (Blanc, 2004). . Children living in high-conflict areas during the 2003 Iraq war were found to be 0.8 cm shorter than those living in low-conflict areas (Guerrero-Serdan, 2009).

In many communities, women travel long distances to search for food, water, traditional herbs and medicines. In conflict situations, women and girls may become responsible for tasks previously undertaken by male relatives, which take them beyond the confines of their traditional environment. Such tasks may include farming, trading or grazing animals. Women may have no choice other than to perform these activities, or may undertake them because they are perceived as less threatening and therefore have greater freedom to pursue such economic activities than their male counterparts. Their ability to do so may be curtailed, however, by the presence of soldiers and by security risks. It is important to note that women's mobility may be further hampered by cultural constraints. Checkpoints, closures and curfews can imperil the lives of those urgently in need of medical treatment. The delays occasioned by crossing checkpoints may, for example, prevent pregnant women from reaching a hospital in time for a safe delivery. Women have died at checkpoints on their way to hospital. The presence of checkpoints also delayed pregnant women from reaching hospital in time for a safe delivery. Many women lacked personal identity documents, which caused additional difficulties and delays when attempting to pass checkpoints.

Women and children in conflict situations can be classified into four main categories: those in actual conflict situations; those displaced from external conflicts (i.e. refugees); those displaced from internal conflicts (i.e. internally displaced persons), and those affected by environmental conflicts. Women who are wives, mothers, sisters or daughters of combatants, although civilians themselves, may be specifically targeted to put pressure on one party, or as a form of retaliation. Women who are forced to feed and shelter arms bearers are subjected to the risk of not only violence resulting from the presence of arms bearers in their homes, but also from reprisals by those in opposition, who may incorrectly perceive them to be combatants themselves or collaborators. Widowhood often changes the social and economic roles of women in the household and community, as well as the structure of the family. The impact of widowhood differs between cultures and religions. In some communities, a widow is responsible for supporting her late husband's dependants, in others she is taken in by his family. In some countries widows are stigmatized as purveyors of ill-fortune and unwanted burdens on poor families. If the link between the family and the widow has been severed by the death of the man, a

widow may lose custody of her children. She may also be stripped of her home and possessions by the family of her deceased husband. Women whose husbands are missing experience many of the same problems as widows, albeit without official recognition of their status. In most contexts, there is no official acknowledgement of the status of “missing person” and consequently none of the legal entitlements or support, which generally exist for the widowed. This may jeopardize women’s rights with respect to property administration, inheritance, guardianship of children, entitlement to benefits and the prospect of remarriage. In many cases, families lack the means or information on how to search for a missing relative, how to apply for financial or material support and how to obtain legal advice.

In many countries, victims of sexual violence have been imprisoned on account of conduct perceived to be inappropriate, for their own protection, or because they have nowhere else to go. Sexual violence may result in bodily injury, physical disability and reproductive complications including miscarriage. Victims may suffer anxiety due to living in a community where violations continue to be perpetrated, where they suffer economic distress and where armed conflict remains unresolved.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **CONFLICT WIDOWS IN NORTH EAST INDIA**

## CHAPTER 3

### CONFLICT WIDOWS IN NORTH EAST INDIA

#### 3.1 Introduction:

The North East comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim which extends towards north and east of the narrow Siliguri corridor called the “Chicken’s Neck”. These regions which cover 263,000 square kilometers share international boundary with China to the north, Myanmar to the east, Bangladesh to the southwest and Bhutan to the northwest. The states of North East are multiethnic and multilingual in nature. The region is an ethnic minefield, as it comprises around 160 Scheduled Tribes (recognized under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution), besides an estimated 400 other tribal or sub-tribal communities and groups. Turbulence in India’s North East, therefore, is not caused just by armed separatist groups representing different ethnic communities fighting the federal or local governments or their proxies to press for some form of autonomy, but also by the recurring battles for territorial supremacy among the different ethnic groups (Hussain, 2009: 98).

According to Census 2011, the North East region is basically a rural economy; almost 84 percent of population lives in rural areas, having an average population density of 173 people per square kilometer of area. From the table below, Manipur has the highest sex ratio of 974 in 2001 as compared to 987 in the year 2011.

**Table 3.1: Overall Sex Ratio (Total Population)**

States	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Arunachal Pradesh	894	861	862	859	893	920
Assam	869	896	910	923	935	954
Manipur	1,036	980	971	958	974	987
Meghalaya	949	942	954	955	972	986
Mizoram	1,009	946	919	921	935	975
Nagaland	933	871	863	886	900	931
Tripura	932	943	946	945	948	961
All India	941	930	934	927	933	940

**Sources:** Human Development Report for North Eastern States, Ministry of DONER (2011), “Sex Ratio in India”, Planning Commission report and Census India.

### **3.2 Conflict and Women in North East:**

Due to continuous armed movement, the Government of India has imposed Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 in the North East States to counter insurgency. To a query posed by North East Network (NEN) about reasons for the imposition of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in NER, the reply received from the Director (NE) of Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) on 14 November 2013 stated that ‘violence became the order of the day in the North-East due to ethnic clashes and other historical factors, giving rise to formation of militant groups (possessing sophisticated weapons) which with cross-border support, challenge (d) the sovereignty and integrity of India. Law and order machinery in the North-Eastern states became inadequate to counter these militant forces thus calling for deployment of armed forces to aid the civil powers. Hence ‘AFSPA’.

In ethnic clashes, women and children are easy victims and often the first ones to be killed. Even when they manage to survive direct physical violence, they have to bear heavy economic responsibility. It has been found that the conflict in the north east region has resulted in an increase in female headed households (NEN, 2004: 26).

**Table 3.2: Number of Female Headed Households**

State	Rural	Urban
Arunachal Pradesh	150	84
Assam	3327	89
Manipur	222	134
Meghalaya	264	206
Mizoram	63	148
Nagaland	172	60
Tripura	434	86
India	111,534	106

**Source:** National Sample Survey 50<sup>th</sup> Round (1993-94)

From the above table it is clear that regarding the female headed households of Manipur, the number rises more as in the case of rural areas (222) as compared with the urban areas (134).

The case studies of Assam, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur where the intensity of conflict is high is discussed as compared to other north eastern states.

### **3.2.1 Assam:**

Assam was first declared a 'disturbed area' on 27 November 1990 by the Centre under Section 3 of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (NEN, 2014: 9). It was in January 1979 that the first major violence in the Doyang Reserve Forest area of the Assam-Nagaland border took place (Misra, 1979: 17). In this violence, attacks were mounted by Naga villagers on some 50 Assamese villages which were burnt down and over a hundred people were killed.

The political, fratricidal and factional killings, which took place in the 1990s is known as the 'secret killings'. Many people were killed, injured and tortured during army raids. Women took care of their injured husbands in hospitals though they fear of their belongings being stolen.

Women are not merely among the victims of violence; many women are also actively involved in conflicts, despite being framed as helpless bystanders caught between “two armed patriarchies” (Mahanta, 2000: 42). Women are the human shields in times of conflict. She acts as the protective armour for her husband, trying to safeguard his security and identity from the society and also from threats of active combatants as state security is not sufficient or guaranteed. But after separation/ desertion, she is left to cope on her own. Women live in an environment of fear, mistrust and danger of repercussions.

Many villages in the district of Dhemaji of Assam were completely burnt during the riots of 1983. Hundreds of people from the Bengali speaking migrant community were killed and suffered from serious injuries which included many women and children. The only non-Bengali speaking migrant community village that was attacked was Jairampur, which was inhabited by the Hajong community. The riots caused displacement of people from these affected villages, and the victims had to stay in relief camps for several months, before the process of rehabilitation began (Centre for North East Studies, 2011: 42).

Women of the Bengali community said that they had to bear the brunt of the violence and devastation perpetrated, fleeing for their lives to the jungles and living there for days on end, without food and proper shelter. Their houses, clothes and belongings, food-grains were burnt and looted by the mobs, and they had little time to carry anything with them. They carried their children and ran far to escape. Many were killed before them, and they saw some attackers tear away children from their mother’s arms and throw them into the fire.

In Kokrajhar, the conflict which killed many Bodo communities mainly in their own home was due to revenge, inter-factional and fratricidal killings as they had to choose either National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) or Bodoland People’s Front (BPF). As a result many women victims preferred to send their children to urban centres to study and have a peaceful secure life. They fear that their children will also be taken away or attacked as their husbands had been. Some woman who cannot afford to send

their children to other towns, have admitted them into missionary boarding schools nearby or in orphanage, as they felt unable to take care of them adequately.

The observation that in guerrilla warfare, similar to most military structures, men continue to be the key decision-makers, while women are largely relegated to positions of service as a strategy is borne out in ULFA's modus operandi of keeping women in the background during combat and encounters (Sajjad, 2004).

Many of the young women who joined ULFA's folds were part of a group that lent their support to the outfit when their male comrades were on the run, fleeing the camps scattered within the state resulting in the decrease of numbers and threatening the organizational paradigms of the group. They constituted a mix of women from different categories such as; high school dropouts, college students, wives, sympathizers, widows and siblings of men who had left home years ago to join ULFA's ranks (Rakhee Kalita Moral, 2014: 67).

According to a report by the Asia-Pacific Human Rights Network, over 200,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) now live in 78 relief camps in Kokhrajar and Bongaigaon districts of Assam. Loss of property and livelihoods; displacement, trauma and patriarchal controls on women have increased. Some families offered their daughters to join ULFA as a symbol of sacrifice and for few it was a means of power, violence. Women worked as messengers and carry arms. It is witnessed generally that women victims in conflicts are encircled with different unsocial activities leading them to come across different difficulties and hardships resulting in; forced impregnation, forced termination of pregnancy or forced sterilization (Lindsey, 2001: 21). Women frequently face custodial violence as well as threats and mistreatment from militants (Sona, 2010: 24). Women who were not in a position to join the formal economic sectors are suddenly left on their own and are forced to eke out a living for themselves and their families. Women have to often resort to selling liquor, drugs or even prostitution to make enough money to run their household.

Though women are normally deprived of health care, they are expected to take care of others who are ill, hurt and traumatized which make them deteriorate their health more. Widows are looked upon as inauspicious and are debarred from attending several Hindu religious ceremonies.

### **3.2.2 Nagaland:**

The imposition of The Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1953 on Nagaland in 1953 and the Assam Disturbed Area Act, 1955 entitled the Governor and the Assam Police and other paramilitary forces the power to be implemented in the region. Centre for North East studies (2011) highlighted how the women and children were affected by the conflict in Nagaland by taking the case studies conducted in the districts of Tuensang and Peren. With the coming up of The Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1953 and the Assam Disturbed Area Act, 1955 even led to the negative impact including the incidents of abductions, torture and rape by cadres of the various insurgent groups.

Women from Nagaland have been going through many traumatized situations like women from Assam. No matter where women reside they have to take all sorts of burden that they are destined to. Naga women who are living in a militarized zone face regular mistreatment by security forces during search operations on roads and in residential areas. Rude questioning, touching and feeling up of women during body searches humiliates the women more though there are innumerable incidents of rape, harassment and gendered punishment, women are filled with terror and humiliation daily.

Naga civilians were caught in the crossfire between the Indian army that tries to put an end to the “insurgency” in the area and the divided Naga militant groups. The people suffered from the state’s health infrastructure and a general feeling of insecurity and fear.

The incident of December 1994 which took place between the Naga underground factions and the Maratha Light Infantry, the people of Mokokchung town suffered from stress disorders.

Rev. V.K. Nuh, General Secretary of CNBC while highlighting regarding the consequence of army raid said, “When the Indian army began their operations in 1954, they burnt down villages; granaries and livestock. Men and women were separated, and they were tortured separately. While the men were beaten, some even to death; some women were raped, beaten and mentally tortured. Sometimes the whole villages would be made to gather in the local ground, and even women who were about to deliver babies were not even spared. They had to deliver in the open, in front of the whole public. Some women were even raped in the churches. Even mentally deranged women and little girls were not spared from being molested.”

Whereas men are rehabilitated and given jobs and compensation in exchange of their losses, women who lose their ‘honour’ find it extremely difficult to lead a normal life and gain acceptance as honour, victory and revenge are played out on their bodies. Men face violence and humiliation at the hands of their enemies and come out victorious as heroes and martyrs; women face violence and humiliation as victims of war, first at the hands of the enemy and then as an object of shame within their communities and homes (NEN, 2005: 15).

Soldiers, refugees, and victims of rape and / or dislocation, victims of fragmented families who have lost children, husbands and fathers; often affects them more even before the physical outbreak of conflict. Young widows are forced to head households even though in patriarchal systems they do not have legal access to land and property. Patriarchal societies place women, structurally and socially, at a disadvantage (Khala, 2002). As per customary law, Naga women cannot inherit ancestral property and if she is the only child then the ancestral property will be given to her father’s immediate male relative (Zehol, 1998). Their children could not get proper education so they had to work extra hours in the fields.

### **3.2.3 Tripura:**

The tribal uprisings of 1980 were accompanied by large scale devastations and killings of hundreds of men and women by the Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) extremists.



“Numerous villages were laid waste. Lakhs of people were rendered homeless. Properties including both movable and immovable were destroyed, damaged, burnt, looted and captured. Hundreds were murdered. Women were raped. All contemptible crimes in human history were committed.” (Gan Choudhury, 1985).

The stress and trauma associated with rape and sexual violation lasts long after the incident and there are no counselling centres or trauma centres or even adequate medical help available to these poor rural women to enable them to cope with their bad experiences. The bad experiences has led to forced migrations and displacements encouraging women and men to move to urban centres in search of shelter and livelihood which often leaves them even more vulnerable to exploitation. Further, women are often forced to contribute to the ‘cause’ on a regular basis by providing food and shelter to insurgents. Their poultry and livestock and other food items are looted or extorted by both insurgents and security forces.

### **3.3 Conflict and Women in Manipur:**

Women are assaulted, beaten, humiliated, raped and murdered during conflicts. They face violence from the State, the opposing community, and often in their own homes in the form of domestic violence. Widows have to face the social, economic and emotional problems. Widows are faced to live an ignominious life either at their in-laws home or in the residence of their children, if they are grown up and working. Their self-respect and self-image gets battered. She has to remain economically dependent, which is mentally very painful. She has a lower status than women whose husbands are alive. Beating, torture, emotional neglect, misbehavior, sexual harassment, deprivation from inheritance, misbehavior against their children etc. are some of the forms of violence against the widows (K.M. Baharul Islam, 2014: 92).

Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences by Rashida Manjoo on her visit to India from 22 April to 1 May 2013 stated that widows face particular vulnerabilities, as they are often denied and dispossessed of property by their-in-laws following the death of a spouse. In addition,

social exclusion and poverty lead some widows to engage in sex work and prostitution, and their children to perform hazardous labour or beg on the streets. The testimonies highlighted the use of mass rape, allegedly by members of the State security forces, as well as acts of enforced disappearance, killings and acts of torture and ill-treatment, which were used to intimidate and to counteract political opposition and insurgency.

According to a memorandum submitted to Rahida Manjoo at Imphal on 28 April 2013 by the Civil Society Coalition on Human Rights in Manipur and the UN (CSCHR) presents a comprehensive overview of the present situation of Manipur's indigenous woman and the genesis of violence against them in the context of long-standing armed conflicts that have been predominantly and consistently threatening all women and severely limiting their agency and ability to make informed choice in their lives.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **STATUS OF CONFLICT WIDOWS IN MANIPUR**

## CHAPTER 4

### STATUS OF CONFLICT WIDOWS IN MANIPUR

#### 4.1 Introduction:

The concept of status is a very wide term which includes all the aspects of human life like demographic, educational, occupational, familial, legal, political, social, moral, religious, economic, psychological status (Kumar, 1982: 15).

The knowledge about the status of any section of the society may be obtained through its 'roles' patterns and their importance as well as the consequently achieved privileges and symbols of specific respect (Vohra and Sen, 1985: 15).

Status is defined as a position in a social group in relation to other positions held by individuals in the same group or grouping. A given position determines the amount of authority wielded or the degree of submission required (Barua, 1992).

Status is determined to a great extent in terms of socio-economic indicators such as income, property, education and skills that open up opportunities of employment, better health and the ability to determine important events in life when others are opposed to them (The North East Network, 2004).

Women and children bear the maximum burnt in the conflict situation. The status of conflict widows in Manipur is discussed through case studies.

#### 4.2 Genesis of Manipur Conflict:

Manipur has a total area of 22,327 sq km constituting only 0.7 percent of the total land surface of land. According to census of India 2001, the total population of Manipur is 2,388,634 divided into nine districts. Population density on average is 107 persons per sq km. the state lies between 23.83<sup>0</sup> and 25.68<sup>0</sup> latitude north and 93.03<sup>0</sup> and 94.78<sup>0</sup> longitude east. About 10 percent of the area is plains and the rest is covered by hills. The state has an average literacy rate of 68.87 percent (male = 77.87 percent and female = 59.70 percent). The state sex ratio is 974 females per 1000 males. Agriculture is the main occupation.

After the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891, Manipur became a Maharaja's native State under British Indian Empire. Maharajah Sir Churachand Singh became the Chief of Minister State in 1891 at the age of six. The State was administered by a Superintendent on behalf of the king. After attaining adulthood, Maharajah Churachand Singh introduced "Rules for the Management of Manipur" in 1907 after handing over the administration to him on 15 May 1907. According to this rule, a Manipur State Darbar of eight members was constituted. The Darbar was presided over by the Maharajah but later on it was headed by a British Officer of ICS (Indian Civil Service) or IPS (Indian Political Service) where the proceedings were put up to the Maharajah for approval. As the Indian Independence was drawing near the administration of the hill areas, which was earlier carried out by the President Manipur State Darbar (PMSD) on behalf of the king was brought under the Maharajah's Control by passing the Manipur Hill People's (Administration) Regulation 1947. Maharajkumar Priyabrata Singh became the Chief Minister of Interim Council on 15 August 1947 after Mr. Pearson, the then Chief Minister left on 14 August 1947. Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh directed Mr. Pearson to draft a Manipur State Constitution which was not ready when independence came. Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh signed the Instrument of Accession and Stand Still Agreement with the Dominion government of India on 11 August 1947. Mr. G.P. Stewart, ICS (Indian Civil Service), the then Political Agent became the first Dominion Agent of India. During this short period of time Manipur Constitution Act 1947 was passed and election held and the members of the first Manipur Assembly was sworn in on 18 October 1948. Interim Council was dissolved and Dominion Agent was changed to Dewan. As the Maharajah did not like the interference by the Government of India regarding the appointment of Dewan he wanted to sort out the problems with the Governor of Assam. So, after appointments, the Maharajah reached Shillong on 17 September 1949. He was put under house arrest. He wanted to sign the Merger after consulting his Council of Ministers but the Governor of Assam, on behalf of the Government of India maintained that the Maharajah alone was competent to decide. As a consequence the Maharajah signed the agreement on 21 September 1949 merging Manipur into India on 15 October 1949. Later, Manipur became a Part 'C' State, a Union Territory and then a full fledged state in 1972.

As many of the people rejected the merger, armed group like “Red Guard” with the aim to collect arms and ammunition with a view to harass and fight the police and overthrow the Government of India was formed in March 1950 under the leadership of Hijam Irabot (Hanjabam, 2013: 97). The Indian officials made attempts to dilute the Independence of Manipur by citing her as one of the 560 native states (Sanajaoba, 1995: 98). The movement took a violent form and by early 1951, most of the important leaders were arrested and prosecuted.

The movement still continued with the emergence of United National Liberation Front (UNLF) in 1964; People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) in 9<sup>th</sup> October 1977, People’s Liberation Army (PLA) in September 1978, Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) in 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1980 with the objective “Restoration of sovereignty of Manipur”.

The Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL) (two factions), People’s United Liberation Front (PULP) (Pangal based), Kuki National Army (KNA), Kuki National Front (KNF), Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) (two factions), etc are some of the major insurgent groups in Manipur.

#### **4.3 Ethno historical profile of Manipur:**

The Meitei<sup>2</sup> is dominant in the valley and in the hill areas ethnic groups (Naga and Kuki) constituting 33 scheduled tribes. The Meitei; the Loi (or scheduled castes); the Yaithibi (or, the outcastes); the Brahman (Bamon); the Bishnupriya; and the Manipuri Muslims (Pangal) are the ethnic groups of valley. The important tribes are the Kabui (Rongmei) Naga, Tangkhul Naga, Mao Naga, Thadou, Hmar, Paite and Maring. The kukis are also called Khongjais.

The conflict in Manipur can be classified into three types:

1. Intra-ethnic conflict: Here, the conflict is within an ethnic group, such as that between the Kuki and Hmar in 1960 and that between the Thadou Kuki and Paite Zomi in 1997 to 1998, within the generic ethnic group commonly known as the Chin-Kuki. The issue of nomenclature was the basis of these conflicts.

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<sup>2</sup> Meitei is regarded by others as indigenous or original settler of Manipur.

2. Inter-ethnic conflict: Here, the conflict is between two or more ethnic groups, such as that between Naga and Kuki tribes in 1992 and subsequently between the Meitei and the Pangal in the valley in 1993.
3. State versus people: Here, the conflict is directed against the state.

#### **4.3.1 Intra-ethnic conflicts**

The first ethnic clash was unleashed between the Kuki and the Hmar, both belonging to Chin-Kuki tribe in 1960 on the disagreement of the term 'Kuki'. Hmar tribe prefers to call itself as 'Hmar' in place of 'Kuki'.

Kuki- Zomi conflicts was caused in an attempt to reunify the Kuki and Zomi people using 'Zomi' and disowning the name 'Kuki'. The 'Zomi' name is accepted by the Zou, the Simte, the Vaiphei, the Paite and the Tedim-Chin tribes. The Thadou-speaking groups of tribes deny it so the armed factions of the KNF(P) forced the Zomi to accept the name 'Kuki'.

#### **4.3.2 Inter-ethnic conflict**

##### **Naga-Kuki clash, 1992 to 1995**

In early May 1992, ethnic clashes arose between the Naga and Kuki in the town of Moreh, on the border between India and Myanmar, in Chandel district in southeast Manipur. Zou (2000: 13) has enlisted three probable reasons for clash.

- i) To obtain control over monetary support from smugglers;
- ii) To procure arms and ammunition; and
- iii) To gain easy access to border crossing into Myanmar and Southeast Asia.

According to a memorandum of Kuki-Inpi<sup>3</sup> (Manipur, Assam and Nagaland), the apex organization of the Chin-Kuki, submitted to the Prime Minister of India on 19 January 2001, over 900 people were killed, 350 Kuki villages were burnt, 50,000 people were internally displaced and many more were subjected to severe hunger and disease

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<sup>3</sup> Kuki-Inpi is the apex body of the Kuki people in various states of Northeast India, Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, and Northwest Myanmar. It is a non-profit, socio political body that represents all the tribes of the Kukis.

(Shimray et al., 1993: 32). Similarly, a memorandum submitted by the Naga Baptist Church Leaders' Forum to the Prime Minister on 15 June 1993 claimed that 20 Naga villages were burnt, 17 villages were totally uprooted and more than 7,000 persons were internally displaced.

### **Meitei-Pangal clash, 1993**

On 2 May 1993, an incident took place between three extremists and a gun-runner of the Pangal community on the dispute of monetary transaction over a gun at Lilong Bazar (dominated by Pangal) in Thoubal district of Manipur which later claimed about 100 lives. There were also reports of violence in other areas like Samurou, Mayang Imphal, Paobitak, Canchipur, Kwakta and Heirangoithong.

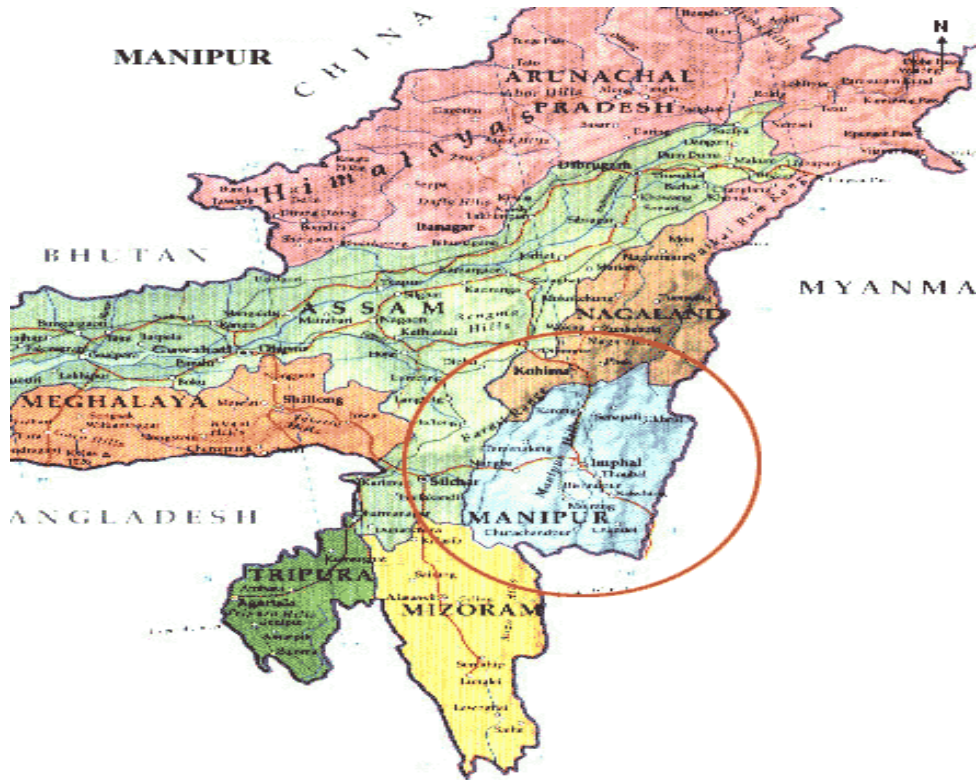
### **4.3.3 State versus people**

#### **The ceasefire crisis, 2001**

The signing of the Indo-Naga ceasefire 'without territorial limits' between the Central Government of India and the NSCN on 14 June 2001 at Bangkok made the Meitei as a recognition of the long-standing demand for a Greater Nagaland, or Nagalim. The protesters (mostly Meitei) turned violent and burned down the official residencies of many members of the legislative assemblies of Manipur, including the state assembly building and blocking roads. It resulted in loss of 18 civilians on 18 June 2001. The day is remembered and celebrated every year as "Great June Uprising Day".

The continuous movement for an independent Manipur gave rise to the imposition of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 by the Government of India giving the power to shoot at just mere suspicion. The conflict which is still continuing makes the women and children the most vulnerable section in the society. The loss of near and dear ones make their life even more vulnerable without their male members who were the sole bread earners in the family, the women are forced to take the entire responsibilities now. Women in Manipur are facing the wrath of conflict.





**Figure 4.1: Map of Manipur**

**Source:**

<http://www.google.co.in/imgres?imgurl=http://www.timesofindiatravel.com/india/manipur-map-india> (accessed on 15th January 2014, 1.48 p.m.)

Here, I would like to elaborate the case studies that depict the plight of conflict widows of Manipur.

### **Case 1: Wangkhem Chandrakala**

#### **Family Background:**

Wangkhem Chandrakala, aged 39 is the lone daughter of Wangkhem Thambalngou (70) and Ibemhal Devi (65) of Sagoltongba bazaar, Imphal West district, Haorang block under Patsoi Police station. Her dad was a retired headmaster of Nongchup Imphal and her mother runs a small hotel selling tea, eatables, etc. She led a joyous life before marriage and the family income was sufficient to feed the family.

She married at the age of 17 years after appearing HSLC in 1991 to Namoijam Lukhoi Singh. She continued her studies till graduation. Namoijam Lukhoi Singh, a resident of Sagoltongba bazaar studied till high school and worked as CRPF after marriage earning 6000 per month. But after an injury during Kargil war, he took voluntary retirement in 1995. He suffered jaundice and underwent treatment for three months. Later he worked in transporting soil. They have four children. The first child Surchandra (20) is doing his B.Sc Agriculture at Dehradund. Second, Surbala (17), Sanjana (15), Switzerland (11) are all studying at Assam Rifle, Keithelmanbi in XII, XI, IV simultaneously.

On 21<sup>st</sup> April 2008, Lukhoi and one of his daughters went to attend swasti ceremony where his daughter performed two solo songs as she's learning singing. As she was thirsty she asked her father to bring her some water but later she came running to her mother holding rose and money in a terrified manner. She was not able to speak properly at that moment. Chandrakala came to know that her husband had been shot. On that moment her youngest son who was just a baby resting on her lap. Lukhoi was brought to Regional Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS) but he was referred to Shija Hospital and was kept in ICU for seven days. He died on reaching Shija hospital but he was kept forcefully in ICU so that others could claim ex-gratia making others to believe he is still alive and is in a serious condition. From the eye witness she came to know that three unknown guys insisted her husband to come along with them and so they had a fiscal fight but suddenly they just shot him five times. He was shot at both the arms, knees and the last bullet it pierced through his left eye from the side of the left ear. The hospital bill costs around 3,70,000 rupees of which the villagers helped in clearing 2 lakhs but the remaining 1,70,000 was not cleared. The Shija hospital members came repeatedly to their house pressuring to clear the remaining sum of amount of money. But as she had no money it remained unclear till today.

After three months, she came to know that her husband was shot merely as he looked identical to one of the person whom they want to tag along with them. Post mortem report was not given to family by the hospital. Moreover, the ex-gratia was also not given. After the incident, sit-in-protest was performed and requested through media to clarify who and why her husband was shot. But it was futile. As she didn't get result she

continued her complaint to Patsoi Police Station till the year 2011. She became a member of COWF (Conflict Widows Forum) for Imphal West in December 2010. Later she became convenor in 2011.

**Current Position:**

She lives in her marital house though the land is under her father-in-law. She assists her mother in running the hotel. The family is managed from the income generated by running hotel (amount to 6 to 10,000 per month which is not fixed) and pension from her father-in-law. She also became the Convenor for COWF (Conflict Widows Forum) for Imphal West.

**Case 2: Wahengbam Lata Devi**

**Family Background:**

Wahengbam Lata Devi (33) is the first child among the three siblings of Inaobi (55) and Memcha (45) Devi of Yurembam Awang Maning Leikai, Langjing PS, Haorang Block. Her father works as a farmer. Her mother became an HIV patient at the age of 30 years after transfusing five bottles of blood during an accident. Lata studied till the third standard. Kandibor (23), the second child studied till 10<sup>th</sup> but after that he got married. The last child Inao (20) studied till 8<sup>th</sup> standard and now works as brick mansion. Previously, they stayed at Sangaitel. Her father was a former CRPF then worked at Agriculture and later started staying in this present address. The family was well off so she led a happy life before marriage.

At the age of 13 years she eloped and as a consequence she got married at the same locality to Thingbaijam Rajen Singh (25), the first child among the five siblings of Biramani (55) and Basanti (45) of Yurembam Awang Maning leikai. Rajen and Lata gave birth to three children. Suresh (16) studied till 5<sup>th</sup> standard and now works as labourer in constructing houses. Sheetal, 12 (class IV) and Ayingbi, 10 (class III) are both studying at Yurembam Junior High School.

Rajen used to work as photographers taking pictures at marriage. Then he changed his occupation to mansion and finally as daily wage earner. Lata used to rear huge number of

chicken and sometimes she would get Rs 1000 per day after selling it. The children used to study at private school before the death of her husband.

On 6<sup>th</sup> October 2006, two guys from the locality who is an intermediary of UG on the day of conducting the bumper housie draw he had 10,000. While he was resting the child around 13 years of age who came along with him was caught by the combined force. The child was tortured to reveal his partners. As he had no option he led them to Rajen, who was innocent. The combined force brutally tortured him and after three days his dead body was found at Kha Sangbam on 9<sup>th</sup> October. The Inspector-in-charge informed them regarding the body and also gave in detail how her husband pleaded the Commandos to spare the child life and punish him instead of the child. He said “Your husband save the life of the child”.

The child parents came frequently to their house to handover their child to them. After he was released by the police force he was kept at juvenile for one year. Now he’s leading a normal life after marriage.

As Lata’s parents-in-law feared the consequence of being framed her husband as UG, they did not file any FIR. Moreover, she was kept idle so as not to keep in contact with the outside world. Ex-gratia was also not given. Whenever she stepped out of the house she was looked down as wife of UG, she was also mistreated. Some would also talk bad words about her but she ignored them all.

### **Current Position:**

The land is under the name of father-in-law though they live in the same land separately. NGO gave her mental support as well as skill training. She became a COWF member most probably at 2009. She also got support from various NGOs like Gun Survivors Network, EEVFAM, Wide Angles. With the support from Binalakshmi Nepram sanctioned from Delhi, they formed a group called “Chanura”. She received 6000 as stipend after fruit processing training programme from Meira, situated at Brahmapur Aribam Leikai, Harinath Road, Imphal. She also received assistance of 16000 from Dr. Ngangbam Shantikumar Meetei, bodybuilder from Taiwan. Though she does not receive any help from the government.

If the sum of money earned is not sufficient to feed the children then she would earn as brick mansion and take some help from parents. She now runs a small shop selling water, eatables in front of Yurembam Rose Garden. She and other seven of them formed a group called “Mangal” at Langthabal and are planning to participate in the upcoming event Sangai Festival which is held every year. She no longer wish any further widows. She wished it’s better to talk than killing as only wife and children are the victims.

### **Case 3: Khundrakpam Bimola Devi**

#### **Family Background:**

Khundrakpam Bimola Devi aged 47 is the only child of (L)Khundrakpam Chandramani (62) and (L) Bilashini (64) of Heinoubok, Langjing Achouba. Chandramani studied till graduation and work as a tailor. Bilashini read till 10<sup>th</sup> standard and used to work in silk industry.

Bimola married to Mutum Ibohal (45), the first child among the nine siblings, a resident of Yurembam Awang Maning leika, Langjing PS. Ibohal was a daily wage earner earning 4-6000 per month which was sufficient to feed the family. Bimola is the mother of four children. Johnson @ Sagar, 16 is reading in 10<sup>th</sup> standard at Sunshine School, Moidanpokpi, Keithelmanbi. Bijando @ Roshan, 14 (class VII), Rojita, 12 (class VI) and Sangeeta, 11 (class IV) are studying in Yurembam government High School.

On 17<sup>th</sup> June 2009 morning, Ibohal told Bimola to book three movie tickets before going for an important work for the constituency member. After lunch Bimola went to watch the movie alone after her husband didn’t show up. Ibohal actually went to handover the ransom money demanded to the constituency member by one of the insurgent group at Moirang. He was forced to buy seven mobile handsets and hand it over to them. As he didn’t return that night she started searching for him internally without the knowledge of Police as they were afraid of the consequences. She spent a sum of 11,000 rupees to search him but in vain. On the twelfth day that is on 29<sup>th</sup> June 2009, in the evening newspaper she heard the death news of her husband. He was found death along with gun and demand letter at Gemol Lamkhai stating that he was shot by Commando claiming

that he was a member of UG. After few days KCPMC clarified in the newspaper that he was not a member of them.

### **Current Position:**

Bimola is living separately with her children in their own land after the division of the land property though the patta is still yet not given to her. She runs a hotel to feed the family and sometimes if insufficient then seek help from her parental uncle. She also took loan from Women Action for Development, an NGO situated at Purana Bazar, Imphal East of 10000 for children's treatment and payment of school fees which is till date not cleared. She received fruit Processing Training Programme conducted by Meira Food from 28<sup>th</sup> November 2013 to 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2014 located at Brahmapur Aribam Leikai, Harinath Road, Imphal.

### **Case 4: Mutum Becha Devi**

#### **Family Background**

The third child among the five siblings of Mutum Biren (70, house builder) and Mangolnganbi (65, housewife) residing in Yurembam Awang Leikai. The income generated by her parents was sufficient to feed the family when they were young. She studied till the fifth standard.

With passage of time she married to her husband Loitongbam Injello of Mongsangei Mamang Leikai, Kakwa P.S on May 2004 due to love affair. All her three children of 9, 8, 5 years respectively are studying in Pole Star Public School. He is an M.A.

Her husband was an agent of Bajaj Alliance earning 4000 rupees per month. He worked for three years. According to some people he was taken from the place of "*Lai Haraoba*" by some unknown persons while he was busy buying beetle "*paan*". He carried with him an amount of around 30,000 rupees after collecting insurance money from 8 people. He was found dead the next day on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2008. Police informed that the body has been found.

**Current Position:**

Becha has been staying in her parental home for the past six years after the death of her husband. She's currently working as a labourer in brick field to support her family earning 150 rupees per day which she receives each week.

**Case 5: Okram Ranjita Devi****Family Background**

Ranjita, 44 is the sixth child among the ninth siblings of Okram Iboton Singh and Nupimacha of Singjamei Waikhom Leikai, Imphal. Her father used to work as a treasurer and her mother does embroidery. She was in the 8<sup>th</sup> standard when her father died and her third sister worked as die-in-harness. The income generated by her parents was sufficient to feed the large family. She studied till the 10<sup>th</sup> standard.

She fell in love and married with Laishram Krishnakanta Singh, a resident of Thongju Part-II, Boroï Makhong, Kakwa Police Station, Imphal West when she was just 17-18 years on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1989. Her husband was the last child among the four siblings. Her daughter is a post graduate and son is completing his graduation.

Her husband was a former militant. He was shot death on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1995 after gathering information from CID. His dead body was found at Iroisemba, Imphal West.

**Current Position:**

She now possesses land of her own under her name. Earlier she used to earn 3000-4000 rupees per month making cloths. As the income is not sufficient she does multiple jobs like selling products of Amway, fermented fish and sometimes would also sell clothes.

**Case 6: Pheiroijam Naobi Devi****Family Background**

Naobi Devi aged 28 is the fifth child of Pheiroijam (L) Shyamchandra and Indrani Devi of Thoubal Charangpat. She studied till the 10<sup>th</sup> standard.

Naobi married in June 2002 to Laishram Deepson of Laishram Muhindro and Tombi of Sekmaijin Bazar, Mayang Imphal, Thoubal. He did his matriculation. He was an ex-cadre. He used to work as a driver earning 4000-5000 per month.

He died at the age of 30 years on 12 January 2009 at Lamsang by Imphal west commando. An FIR had been lodged.

### **Current Position:**

Naobi has two children -11 and 7 years respectively. She's presently staying in her marital place. She does weaving for survival earning 2000 per month.

### **Case 7: Mutum Geetarani Devi**

#### **Family Background**

Geetarani studied upto 12<sup>th</sup> standard. She married in the year 1983 to Thiyam Shamungou Singh, a resident of Moirang Okshongbung, Bishenpur district under Bishenpur Police Station. Shamungou works as occasional worker to support his family after retired from Industrial Training Institute (ITI) in the year 1985. He earns a monthly income of Rs 5000 per month which is the sole income to support his family. They have five children, (three daughters and two sons). First son aged 23 is adopted by one of Geetarani's sister as she's not able to bear a child, second son aged 22, earlier worked in Bangalore as a security guard but due to psychological problems he is undergoing treatment in Imphal which is an additional responsibility to the family, third son, aged 18 is pursuing his B.Sc 2<sup>nd</sup> semester. First daughter aged 20 studied upto 10<sup>th</sup> standard and married in the year 2012 and the last daughter, aged 16 is studying in 10<sup>th</sup> standard and helps her in the household and in her embroidery work which helps them to earn around 3000 per month.

Her husband Thiyam Shamungou Singh, aged 47 was killed in 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2000 at Boat House of Sendra, Bishenpur during a sudden firing broke out between unknown insurgent groups and police who came in five jeeps at the time of election. During the incident, she was hit by the bullet which penetrated through her left arm. Post mortem report was not given to her. Moreover the police hid the information of who was responsible for the



incident. After the incident she was not given any compensation or ex-gratia by the state government.

### **Current Position:**

Geetarani is presently staying with two sons and a daughter. She now possesses around .20 acres of land. After the death of her husband she's leading a very hard life as she's not able to support her family well. Occasionally, she borrows money from others to manage the family. She's currently making her living by tutoring students till the 10<sup>th</sup> standard as well as embroidering under somebody else as she's not capable of buying the machine of her own. Skill training had been given by NGOs and recently Centre for Social Development (CSD) gave assistance in the form of cash to buy machine for embroidery. This is the only support she received so far. As indicated earlier, the government has been a blind eye to the situation of widows- the victim of conflict.

### **Case 8: R.K Ichan Devi**

#### **Family Background**

Ichan, aged 25 is a widow of R.K. Boynao Singh, a resident of Moirang Kokibol, Bishenpur district. She studied till the 7<sup>th</sup> standard. She does embroidery of her own for her livelihood. She was accepted by her parents (loukhatpa) in 2004. She has a daughter, R.K. JellLakshmi of just five years old studying in K.G. I.

Her husband R.K. Boynao Singh, 36 was a former member of one of the insurgent group but now leading a simple life as daily wage earner (matam matamge thabak suba). According to Ichan, in 9 or 10 December 2009, her husband attired in jean and green shirt with sandal left the house when called out by an unknown lady in the evening. He didn't return home for few days but in 15<sup>th</sup> December 2009, her husband was found death at Parbung, Sapermeina under Sapermeina Police Station who was killed by an unknown person. According to people's statement he was brutally tortured by commando personnel. She stated that the funniest thing was that he wore nice shoes when found death. When enquired about the post mortem report Ichan said that the report may be with her husband's brother but she doesn't want to enquire as it reminds her of that

unfortunate day. Icahn has not received any compensation or ex-gratia from the state as well as NGOs.

### **Current Position:**

She's staying at her marital home though it's not under her name. Earlier when her husband was alive her husband's brother and parents supported the family but now she's the sole earner of her family. The income she gets is not sufficient to support her family so she has to borrow from others with interest. As she became widow at a very young age, people spoke ill of her and sometimes when she comes home late her in-laws would scold her making comments like "you must be searching for your new partner". Earlier she used to get harrasment from the insurgent group as well as the police personnel but it has stopped after the death of her husband. As a result of the incident, she now has a weak heart, low vision and whenever she's very tense or depressed she would faint. She has not received any support from the state.

### **Case 9: Laiphrakpam Jibonlata Devi**

#### **Family Background**

Jibonlata Devi, a widow aged 47. She married at the age of 26 in the year 1987 to Haorangbam. Nilachandra Singh of Kokibol Mamang Leikai, bishenpur district, Bishenpur Police Station. She studied till the 10<sup>th</sup> standard. She has two children, a daughter and a son. She makes embroidery items with change in the season. Her daughter Reshma, aged 20 is studying B.A. 1<sup>st</sup> year. Son, roskee aged 15 appeared his HSLC this year. She's leading a very hard life unable to fulfill the needs of her family as her children are all students and she is the sole bread earner.

Haorangbam Nilachandra Singh, aged 41, a graduate was a farmer and occasionally he would go for business purposes 2-3 times a month earning 4-5000 per month. As usual her husband went for business but on this fateful day 25 June 2000, he died in the ambush by the UNLF as some of high officials were driving behind his vehicle. The UNLF suspecting their vehicle as one of the officials was fired. He died around 3.30pm at Jiri coming under the Tamenglong district. He was handed over to his family after three days

from his death by the Jiri Police personnels. According to the post mortem report, he was shot at right cheek, left chest and the bullet penetrated through his palm. Till date Jibonlata had not submitted anything to Commissions.

### **Current Position:**

After the death of her husband she became a heart patient. She was accused by her in-laws for stealing paddy. After continuous visit to Porompat DC, finally she received 1 lakh as ex-gratia in the year 2001 or 2002 of which 20,000 was taken by the broker, 15000 by the bank cashier and accountant leaving her to a sum of 65000. In the year 2002, she started staying at her parental home when her son was in Nursery. With the little sum of money she started managing her family. She reared chicken but in the year 2008, her daughter Reshma suffered from heart problem. So she was admitted in the hospital for a month leading to lots of difficulties in managing her livelihood. Jibonlata's brother supported her in form of cash and many other things but Reshma's condition worsened. She was taken to Pushpanjali's Hospital at Delhi for further treatment and heart surgery was done in October 2012. Fortunately, her daughter is recovering. On top of losing her husband, sole bread earner she was struck again with her daughter's heart problem. This made her livelihood in very bad shape. As she can't support her family with her low income she relies on others like loan sharks. As the business is not good all the time she's leading a very hard life.

### **Case 10: Sorensangbam Loidang**

#### **Family Background**

Loidang, 46 is the wife of Sorensangbam Maimu Singh who's presently staying at her parental home at Thinungei Mayai leikai, Bishenpur district, Bishenpur Police Station. She married in the year 1990 bearing three children, a daughter and two sons. She studied till the 10<sup>th</sup> standard and does weaving for survival. All her children are studying. The first Suresh, 21 is studying in the 12<sup>th</sup> standard. The second, Chanchan, 17 are in the 9<sup>th</sup> standard and lastly Suraj, 14 in the 8<sup>th</sup> standard. Since all her children are students she's the lone bread earner of the family. Her husband, Maimu, 45 was a teacher at one of the

private school. It also runs a rice hotel earning 3000 monthly. In 14<sup>th</sup> October 2007, he was killed by an insurgent group, PREPAK in front of his gate.

**Current Position:**

The government gave an ex-gratia of one lakh. A three days sit-in-protest was organized for the killing of her husband. She now has a place to stay of her own. She used to work in the rice hotel but now she does weaving to support her family. Due to low income she couldn't manage well so she seeks help from relatives, friends and brothers. As she became a widow she was looked down by the society and faced much discrimination but as her children grew up, the people can't no longer look down on her. Because of the incident she faced many psychological problems.

**Case 11: Oinam (O) Moithap Devi**

**Family Background:**

Moithap, 41 is the wife of Oinam Sobha Singh, a resident of Naran Saina Awang Leikai, Bishnupur district, under the jurisdiction of Bishnupur Police Station. She married at a very young age around 20 years. She studied till the 3<sup>rd</sup> standard. She has two children, a daughter and a girl. She supports her family by opening a grocery shop generating income about 10,000 per month. Her son Rishikanta, 21 studied till 12<sup>th</sup> standard worked as security at Bangalore earning around 6,000 per month. Her daughter Reena, 19 studied till 8<sup>th</sup> standard involves in embroidery. Her husband Sobha Singh was a constable at Kumbi Police Station earning 2000 per month. He died on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1995 at Kumbi Santhong, Bishenpur district when ambushed by the insurgent group (UNLF).

**Current Position:**

She has a land of her own as given by the in-laws. She's being discriminated by her husband's brother and wife. Moreover, they influence her son to their side making him hate her mother for which she and her son had not been speaking for the past six months.

## **Case 12: Mutum Umarani**

### **Family Background:**

Mutum Umarani, aged 41 is the last child among the five siblings of Mutum Thoiba (expired at the age of 65 in 1989) and Mutum Ibemcha (expired at the age of 71 in 2005), a resident of Moirang Bazar, Bishenpur district, Moirang PS. The first child Mutum Pramodini, aged 65 years married after her training as B.Sc. Nursing when she was around 20 years. Second, M. Dineswor, 55 a businessman married at 23 years. Third, Geetarani (50, an Anganwadi worker married at 23 years) and Fourth, Bidyachandra, 45 years runs a clinic of his own. Her parents were studied till her graduation and married in the year 1991 to Laiphrakpam Dilip bearing four children. She's presently staying at her parental home First child Deepashree, 19 is pursuing her B.A 2<sup>nd</sup> year. Second child Denish, 14 is in 10<sup>th</sup> standard. 3<sup>rd</sup> Nelson, 10 is in 6<sup>th</sup> standard and last Daina, 7 is in 3<sup>rd</sup> standard. She does embroidery for her livelihood under somebody. Laiphrakpam Dilip, 33 studied till 12<sup>th</sup> standard and ran a second hand shop earning 2000 monthly. On 12<sup>th</sup> December 2005, her husband was killed by KYKL at Leishoi, Keibul Lamjao under Moirang PS. A one day sit-in-protest was done by the public for the killing of her husband.

### **Current Position:**

She changed her occupation from running second hand shop to embroidery. The income generated from embroidering is not sufficient to meet the needs of her family so she performs time to time work to manage her family. After becoming a widow she faced discrimination mainly from two women though no harassment has been done from the state. After the incident she faced psychological problem. She has received help from NGO in the form of cash.

## **Case 13: Laimayum Samita Devi**

### **Family Background:**

Samita, aged 27 is the second daughter among the five siblings of Gopalagi and Ibeyaima of Sagolband Salam Leikai, Imphal P.S. , Imphal West.

She's wife of Mutum Rajen Singh, the third son of Ibocha and Shanti of Keishampat Mutum Leikai, Imphal West. He is an under matriculate. They married on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2002 having a single daughter.

Rajen used to work as a painter. He died on 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2008 at Porompat Pangal Leirak by Imphal East Police Commandos near water supply at the age of 24. An FIR had been lodged. According to official statement he was found with a demand letter.

**Current Position:**

After the death of her husband she suffered from sexual harassment and even threatening by her in-laws. She earns 1700-1800 rupees per month. She's presently staying at her parental home.

**Case 14: Yumkhaibam Ibemcha Devi**

**Family Background:**

Ibemcha is the eldest daughter among the four siblings of Tombi and Chaoba of Arong Khunou Makha Leikha, Thoubal District. Her father is a farmer who can read only in Manipuri script and her mother is a housewife. She studied till the 12<sup>th</sup> standard.

She married at the age of 22 after completing her higher secondary to Moirangmayum Lukhoi Singh who was probably 37 years. They have three children. The first child is studying in higher secondary, second in the 8<sup>th</sup> standard and last child in the 4<sup>th</sup> standard.

Lukhoi was the eldest son of Yaima and Tombi. He used to plant ginger given by the member of the constituency to the farmers who would collect it after a year. On 11<sup>th</sup> December, 2005 he went at Kharam, an adjacent village to attend wedding. As he didn't return till late night Ibemcha and her parents-in-law started searching for him but he couldn't be found. After three days, that is on 14<sup>th</sup> December Lukhoi's dead body was found in the morgue of RIMS (Regional Institute of Medical Sciences), Lamphel when her first child was reading in the 3<sup>rd</sup> standard. He was shot in head from back. According to local newspaper her husband was an informer as stated by KYKL. Later she came to know from her husband's sister regarding the person who killed Lukhoi. The culprit was

killed by the true insurgent group. Ibemcha revealed that few days back before the incident took place some members of PLA stayed in their house who kept guns and left. As a consequence of her dead husband, her father-in-law died of a heart attack and her mother-in-law is suffering from heart disease.

**Current Position:**

Ibemcha in order to support her family she started working as a labourer in stone crusher, later changed her occupation to Anganwadi worker earning 3000 rupees per month though she gets normally after three months. Finally she is working as a care giver under the project ICCO Action Net receiving 4000 rupees per month.

**Case 15: Phuritsabam Mangolnganbi**

**Family Background:**

Mangolnganbi, 30 is the second daughter of Gopal (farmer) and Subadini (housewife) of Heirok part III, Kabo Leikai Mamang Leikai. She completed her matriculation. At the age of 17 she eloped with Moirangthem Ibungo of the same locality in the year 2008. They have two children.

Ibungo was selected in the 1<sup>st</sup> Assam Rifles. After completing his training he came home. His uncle enquired if anyone from his village can surrender. So, Ibungo introduced one person from his locality who was an informer who used to transport guns and went to jail 2-3 times. The guy assured that he will make a card so that people can't arrest him. Moreover the guy has to surrender only without any weapons to the Captain. Earlier Ibungo had been going along with the guy in Santro vehicle thrice. He can understand Manipuri and Hindi except English. Around 9.30 pm on 14<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 her husband who went with his uncle called her in mobile saying that he had reached the base camp. But the next day she came to know from her aunt that her husband was killed in an encounter around 12.30 pm. After performing the necessary rituals her husband's cousin brothers nor any of his relatives showed up. The details regarding her husband death is still not disclosed to her.

**Current Position:**

She appealed to High Court for justice on April 2012. She has been staying with her paralysed mother-in-law. She is working as an ASHA worker as well as care giver earning 4000 rupees per month from April 2014.

**Case 16: Maibam Bijeni Devi****Family Background:**

Bijeni, 32 is the second child among the six siblings of Maibam Tombi and Meilani, farmer as occupation of Heirok part II, Leitanmakhong.

After appearing her higher secondary she eloped and married in the year 2001 to Nongthombam Naoba of Lalambung, Imphal West. Naoba, 28 was the 1<sup>st</sup> child of the second mother. Among the five siblings he is the third child. He used to work as mechanic repairing tapes, television, etc leading a simple life with three children.

On 8<sup>th</sup> September, 2008 one of her cousin brother came to their house which is situated near the hospital for treatment in the hospital as he was suffering from kidney failure. On Thursday, that is on 11<sup>th</sup> September, 2008 few people came to their house and asked her husband to go along with them as their leaders want to have a talk with him. Naoba, who was wearing casual dress was blindfolded by piece of clothes and taken with them. For 2-3 days he didn't return home after the unknown person took him. Their family started searching everywhere but in vain. On the second day around 11 am an unknown call came stating it was one of the parties of insurgent group. But on 15<sup>th</sup> September, 2008 news regarding Naoba's death was published stating that he was killed in an encounter between District Commando and 12 Marathon Infantry of Wangoi Police, Imphal West.

**Current Position:**

After the death of her husband her youngest daughter is adopted by one of her sister. The house they used to live with her husband is kept for rent. Her father-in-law promised that they would give the land share for her children. Her mother-in-law is staying with one of her husband's sister. She is presently staying in her parental home for the past seven



years. In order to support her family she used to rear chicken but now stopped. She's eating separately in her parental home with her children. Since she suffers from heart disease she can't perform heavy work. Her parents sometimes help her when in need. She also works in NREGA. She also gets 5 kg rice from the locality. She's presently making clothes in loom supporting her family.

#### **4.5 WELFARE SCHEMES:**

According to Annual Report 2012-13 the Government of NCT of Delhi has taken up steps for women's empowerment.

- (i) One time financial assistance to widows for performing marriage of their daughters enhanced from 20,000 to 25,000 rupees. In the current financial year 2012-13, 2,800 women would be benefitted under the scheme.
- (ii) Pension to women in distress is being given to 91,094 women beneficiaries.
- (iii) 60 Aawaz Uthao Collectives setup in Delhi in backward areas with objective to women in distress.

For welfare of children:

- (i) "JAN AHAAR" Scheme has been implemented to provide low cost nutritious and hygienic meals (containing at least 1,000 calories per meal) to the needy at the rate of 15 rupees per meal in 36 different areas.
- (ii) Government has extended a helping hand to the aged through Old Age Assistance Scheme. Under this scheme, 550 crore of rupees have been allocated and 3.46 lakh beneficiaries covered. Persons above 60 years and below 70 years of age are getting 1,000 rupees per month and persons above 70 years of age are getting 1,500 rupees per month. The Government has taken a decision to release the senior citizen pension directly through bank accounts for timely and early release of pension.
- (iii) The Government has also taken steps to enhance the Assistance to Persons with Special Need (Disabled Pensions) from 1,000 to 1,500 rupees per month. Under this scheme, 26,527 beneficiaries are availing such assistance.
- (iv) Delhi Government implements various plan schemes in order to accelerate the pace of educational, social & economic development of SC/ST/OBC/Minority

communities by way of providing financial support both as grant and loan. An outlay of 324 crore rupees has been approved during 2012-13.

- (v) The Special Police Unit for Women and Children (SPUWC) which initially started as the Crime Against Women Cell was set up to prevent violence against women including dowry deaths, complaints of domestic violence etc.

In the case of Assam (NEN, 2014) The Government of India has initiated laws that have a great potential for safeguarding women's well being and their rights. The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) includes the component 'women in disturbed areas' (Volume III: Social Sector, Point 23.65, p.175). It acknowledges how continuous violence has led to lack of normal access to facilities/services and increased vulnerability of women. It further states that, Gender sensitisation programmes will be held for authorities who implement legislations, such as AFSPA, applicable in disturbed areas. The twelfth plan will also initiate a review of AFSPA using gender lens. Gender Resource Centres will be established by the State Departments for Women and Child Development in all pockets of disturbed areas on a priority basis.

The state initiatives include the Assam State Commission for Women which investigates all matters relating to the legal safeguards provided for women and examines non-compliance of policy decisions by the State. Assam Human Rights Commission which inquires into complaints of human rights violation or abetment suo moto or on a petition by a victim or any person on her/his behalf; Assam State Legal Services Authority which, through its district authorities, is entitled to provide free legal aid to women and children and person if they are victims of a mass disaster, ethnic violence, caste atrocities, and others.

The Government of Assam's current relief strategy is limited to periodic distribution of cheques, supply of relief materials and temporary shelters. Two surrender schemes, which cover women as well, were launched by the Assam Government. The first '100 percent Special Margin Money Scheme' proposed by Late Chief Minister Hiteswar Saikia in 1992 with the objective of 'rehabilitating surrendered terrorists' was implemented from 1 June 1992 till 31 March 1997. The second was proposed by the State Government of Assam in 1998. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) has been

implementing this scheme for Surrender-cum-Rehabilitation of militants in the North East with effect from 1 April 1998 which is revised with effect from 1 April 2005.

The Government of Assam made two proposals in 2007 to pay one-time ex-gratia to the next of kin of victims of terrorist violence and build two rehabilitation homes for widows, widows of militant leaders and orphans affected by armed conflict which would include facilities like counseling, education and employment.

The government has instituted Swadhar homes to respond to 'women victims of terrorist violence' through home based care and rehabilitation.

In the case of Manipur, inspite of having governmental rehabilitation schemes, due to bureaucratic red tappism and lack of information, the victims are not in a position to avail any of them and continue to suffer and struggle.

## **CHAPTER 5**

## **CONCLUSION**

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### CONCLUSION

The term conflict which is present everywhere in the world has many dimensions. According to Wallensteen (2001) conflict is a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources. The Uppsala University's Conflict Data Program (UCDP) reported there were 33 active conflicts in the world in 2013. The Indian state has been suffering from many forms of violence due to demand for independent state. The conflict of India is divided into three zones: Jammu and Kashmir Zone; Naxalite zone; and Northeast zone. The root causes for conflict in the three zones have been discussed. The conflict which took place after the partition of India and Pakistan for Jammu and Kashmir, Amnesty International compiled as 10,000 disappearances since 1990 based on media reports and local sources. Complaints of around 708 had also been received by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and to the Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) with regards to human rights violations between 1996 and 1999 excluding the security forces. In the case of Naxalbari zone, the movement for peasant uprising in the village of Naxalbari in north Bengal on issues of land in 1967 is accountable for more than 80% of the violence and killings. North East India is also reeling under ethnic conflict at present.

The armed struggle for independent state in Manipur still continues after the forced merger with Dominion India on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1949. According to the *South Asia Terrorism Portal* (SATP) database, total fatalities, at 110 [25 civilians, 12 Security Forces-SFs, 73 militants] in 2012, reduced to just half, at 55, in 2013 with 21 civilians, six SFs and 28 militants killed in 10 incidents. 2013 recorded 76 incidents of bomb blast, in which 24 people were killed and 103 were injured; 107 incidents of explosion had been recorded in 2012, though the total fatalities were nine, and 90 persons were injured. The situation of conflict creates a sense of insecurity and uncertainty.

Women comprise a significant component of internally displaced and refugee populations, and often head households as a result of being separated from male family

members. Women have multiple roles who are wives, mothers, sisters or daughters of combatants although civilians themselves, may be specifically targeted to put pressure on one party, or as a form of retaliation. Widowhood often changes the social and economic roles of women in the household and community, as well as the structure of the family. A widow may lose custody of her children. She may also be ostracized of her home and possessions by the family of her deceased husband.

The case studies conducted for conflict widows in Manipur reveal that though most of the their husbands died in a fake encounter, due to stigma and discrimination from the fear of society they do not file an FIR as the family members obstruct them. In some cases even if they do they are not taken seriously by the police officials. Due to lack of knowledge and information regarding the schemes available for the widows, they are deprived of the beneficiaries. Only few go to the NGOs who work mainly for the conflict widows and seek assistance from them. For instance, the case study of Lata shows how she contacted with different NGOs like Gun Survivors Network, EEVFAM, Wide Angles and received financial assistance, running a small shop and how she became a member of COWF (Conflict Widow Forum). She also received training for fruit processing.

Chandrakala became the Convenor for COWF for the Imphal West district. The income is generated mainly from the hotel she runs with her mother-in-law and pension from her father-in-law to support the children. Bimola is running a small hotel. She also received fruit processing training programme conducted by Meira Food. Becha is working in the brick field as a labourer earning a mere sum of 150 rupees per day which she receives each week. This is the only source of income for her in order to feed her three children.

Ranjita is the only widow among the case studies conducted who has land under her name which is rare. She makes clothes earning 3000-4000 rupees per month. Naobi is staying in her marital place earning 2000 rupees per month by weaving. Geetarani is the sole widow who makes living by tutoring students. She receives skill training from Women Action for Development like making detergents, soap, dish washer, etc. Centre for Social Development (CSD) also gave financial assistance to buy machine for embroidery.

Umarani changed her occupation from running second hand shop to embroidery though it is still not sufficient to feed her family. She also performs time to time work. She also received financial assistance from NGO. Ibemcha started working as a labourer in stone crusher. She later changed her occupation to Anganwadi worker earning 3000 rupees per month which she gets normally after three months. Currently, she is working as a care giver under the project ICCO Action Net receiving 4000 rupees per month.

Mangolnganbi, who is staying with her paralysed mother-in-law is working as an ASHA worker as well as care giver earning 4000 rupees per month from April 2014. Bijeni since she suffers from heart disease she can't perform heavy work so her parents sometimes help her when in need. She also works in NREGA. She also gets 5 kg rice from the locality. She's presently making clothes in loom supporting her family.

Jibonlata received the ex-gratia from the government though she didn't receive in full as she had to give shares to broker, some to bank cashier. To support her children she reared chicken but as her daughter suffers from heart disease she needed more money so she borrows money from others for her daughter's treatment. Loidang also received a sum of one lakh as ex-gratia. She used to work in the rice hotel but now she does weaving for living. They have received ex gratia but they have to run from pillar to post as in earlier chapters I have mentioned that it is not easy to receive governmental assistance in a conflict state. Also most of the women victims do not seek for ex gratia from the governmental side as it is a long process that involves money and time to visit the government officials.

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## **APPENDIX**



**II. Case Profile:**

1. Name (Partner):
2. Age:
3. Education:
4. Occupation:
5. Income:
6. Nature of crime:
7. Police statement:
8. Date and place of incident:
9. Date of recovery/ discovery:
10. Police station and FIR no.:
11. District:
12. Post Mortem Report:
13. Family statement:
14. Any legal proceeding, if yes state details
15. Any submission to Commissions (Human rights/women etc) if yes, details
16. Have you received any compensation or contacted for compensation to settle the issue?
17. Did you face any physical harassment from the state/militants?
18. Have you received any support from the state/ NGOs or members of your community?
19. If yes, type of support received from

State	NGOs	Community

**III. Present Status:**

1. Present Residence (own):
2. Household Land (own):

3. Agricultural Land (own):
4. How was the family supported earlier?
5. Present occupation in last three years (if change from earlier):
6. Is the income sufficient?
7. If yes, where are the major portions of the income is invested/ spend?
8. If no, how do you manage it?
9. Do you face any discrimination from any quarters particularly from family and society? If so please explain.
10. Do you face any harassment from state or non-state actors? If so please explain.
11. Is there any health related problem after the incident (which you think is connected)?
12. How do you handle the present situation?
13. How do you think that the issue should be addressed by the state?