

SWARNA RAJAGOPALAN

B-402 Prince Villa, 7 Rajamannar Street, Chennai 600 017, India

Landline: (91-44) 2815-2954

Mobile: (91) 98400-79133

Email: swarnar@gmail.com

Web: <http://www.swarnar.com/portfolio.htm>

Twitter: @swarraj

- **Independent scholar (politics, security and gender), writer and consultant.**
- **Founder and Managing Trustee, The Prajnya Trust, Chennai, www.prajnya.in.**
- **Founding member, Women's Regional Network, www.womensregionalnetwork.org.**

Education

- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois

Ph.D. in Political Science, October 1998

Dissertation Title: "National Integration: The State in Search of Community"

- Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

M.A. in International Relations, 1985

- University of Bombay, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India

B.A. in Political Science, 1984

Professional experience

Prajnya

Founder and Managing Trustee of The Prajnya Trust, 2006 till date. Honorary position involves providing vision; leadership and mentoring; research and writing; communications and public relations, including fundraising; conceptualization and execution of projects and programmes; and administration. Prajnya works in three areas: women's history and women in politics; gender violence awareness and peace education. I engage with all three, in addition to leading the organization.

Writing

Writer on gender, human security and politics for InfochangeIndia.org (2011-2015), and since 2013, for Daily News and Analysis (web edition).

Expert contributor to MacArthur Foundation Asian Security Initiative Blog, posts now archived at <https://asiarchivedswarraj.wordpress.com/about-these-blogposts/>, 2009-11

Consultation

- Evaluation research, Management Systems International, February-May 2017.
- Gender consultant, Study on women's access to vocational education opportunities in North and East Sri Lanka, GTZ Sri Lanka, September-October 2016.
- Review of classroom materials, EZ Vidya, Chennai, July-September 2016, March 2017.

- Gender and peace-building consultant, National Peace Council, Colombo, February-March 2016.
- Editorial and research consultancy for the Swayam Shikshan Prayog, July-September 2015.
- Asia segment of UN Women e-learning course on women, peace and security, November 2012-February 2013.
- Report on the state of security studies in South Asia, Macarthur Foundation, July-August 2006.
- Brainstorming Workshop on How to Re-construct South Asia, Ford Foundation, April 11-12, 2006.
- Consulting series co-editor, Gender and Non-Traditional Security Project, WISCOMP, January 2005 – May 2006.
- Post-conflict grant application referee, World Bank, May and July 2005.
- Potential interventions related to women and conflict in Asia and their presentation at United States Agency for International Development regional workshop in Bangkok, USAID/ Juarez and Associates Inc., Los Angeles, July-August 2004.
- Review of Sri Lanka poverty reduction report, World Bank, July 2004.
- Preparation of program reports, Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, January 2004.
- Evaluation and review of Refugees/IDP grants, World Bank, Summer 2003.

Commissioned Research

- Desk-based study on violent extremism and women's interventions to counter it for Women & Peace Studies Organization (formerly Women, Peace and Security Research Institute), Kabul, Afghanistan, July-August 2016.
- Desk review on women's human rights tribunals and a global overview of regimes and policies relating to displacement, for Women's Regional Network, March 2015.
- "Peacemakers' Tales from Afghanistan," a booklet based on oral history interviews with women peacemakers for the Women, Peace and Security Research Institute, Kabul, Afghanistan, February 2015. The booklet is available at http://www.riwps-afghanistan.org/site_files/14295232651.pdf.
- Regional overview and executive summary for Women's Regional Network Community Conversations project, November 2013-February 2014.
- Reconciliation ideas in the Indian political tradition, International IDEA-WISCOMP (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance-Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace) consultation on reconciliation, New Delhi, November 2004.
- *Peace Accords in Northeast India*, Northeast India Study Group, Internal Conflicts in Asia Project, East-West Center, Washington DC, 2006-07.

Conferences and Special Programs Organized

Summer Program on Culture, Politics and Globalization, a Study Abroad course organized in partnership with Michigan State University's Office of Study Abroad, July 2007, July 2008.

WISCOMP Forum Series: Gender, HIV/AIDS and Security, Chennai, February 22-23, 2008 and Disasters and Security, Chennai, September 15-16, 2006.

Academic Positions held

Research

- Post-doctoral Fellow, James Madison College, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, Fall 1998-01.

Post-doctoral fellowship with teaching and research commitments. Research on South Asian international relations. Worked with Dr. Mohammed Ayob. (See also below under 'Teaching'.)

- Research Assistant, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Political Science, Urbana, Illinois, 1996-97.

Library research, transcription and data entry for a project on urban housing networks in Detroit, Michigan.

- Research Associate, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, Spring and Summer 1996

Contributed to planning a Residential Workshop for regional scholars on the non-military sources of regional conflict (see above) and the compilation of a directory of scholars, activists, organisations and institutions engaged in South Asian security affairs.

- Research Assistant, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, Urbana, Illinois, Summer 1994.

Edited the manuscript of a collection of essays on Indian foreign policy and South Asian international relations by a veteran Indian diplomat, Jagat S. Mehta.

- Research Fellow, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, 1989-90

Worked on a project on governance problems in South Asia, where my work involved library, archival and field research (interviews) on the internal structure and functioning of Indian political parties. The project resulted in a book: Bhabani Sen Gupta, *India: Problems of Governance*, Konark, Delhi, 1996.

- Intern, United Nations, Department for Disarmament Affairs, Research and Information Division, New York, Summer 1985

Reviewed books for *Disarmament* quarterly, and wrote a paper on the responses of South Asian states to the Pakistani proposal for a nuclear weapon-free zone.

Teaching

- Visiting Professor, National Management School, Mumbai, December 2015.

Taught Introduction to International Relations.

- Faculty Co-Director, Michigan State University-Chaitanya Summer Program on Culture, Politics and Globalization, Chennai, 2007.

Taught introduction to South Asian history, politics and culture.

- Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois, 2002-03.

Teaching courses on comparative politics, international security and South Asia.

- Singh Lecturer in South Asian Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 2001-02.

Taught South Asian politics: Governance Issues in South Asia, Identity, Security and Governance in South Asia and Security and Inter-state Relations in South Asia.

- Post-doctoral Fellow, James Madison College, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, Fall 1998-01.

Post-doctoral fellowship with teaching and research commitments. Courses include Third World Politics, Economics and Society, Fall 1998; Introduction to Public Affairs, Spring 1998, 2001; Introduction to International Relations and World Security, Fall 1999; Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis, Spring, Fall 2000. (See also under 'Research'.)

- Independent Instructor, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Political Science, Urbana, Illinois, 1994-95, 1997-98.

Introduction to International Relations, Fall 1994, Spring 1995; Emerging Nations, Fall 1995, Spring 1998; Introduction to International Security, Fall 1997; Introduction to Political Science, Summer 1998.

- Teaching Assistant, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Political Science, Urbana, Illinois, 1993-94

Introduction to Comparative Politics, Fall 1993; Introduction to American Politics, Spring 1994.

- Lecturer, Sophia College, Bombay, 1988

Introduction to Political Science; Western Political Thought; Indian Political System.

Relevant experience

- Member, *Sri Lanka Election Monitoring Team* of the US NGO Forum on Sri Lanka and the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace, October 2000.
- Participant, *Residential Workshop on Sources of Conflict in South Asia: Ethnicity, Refugees and Environment*, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, March 1997.
- Participant, First Security, Technology and Arms Control Workshop, Bhurban, Pakistan, May 1993.

Professional and community activities

Informal Consultation

Review of commissioned study, Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, 2003.

Pre-election consultation on Sri Lanka by European Union representative, March 2004.

A.C.S. Hameed Peace Foundation, Colombo, Sri Lanka, on post-conflict reconstruction questionnaire, September-October 2002.

American Forum on Global Education, New York, USA, on South Asia curriculum, May 2002.

Manuscript reviews

Taylor and Francies (India), Women in International Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), Security Studies, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, The India Review, Asian Survey, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (Pakistan) working papers series.

Invited Presentations

"Women in the Maldivian Democratic Transition," WISCOMP, April 2010.

"Women and Security," Observer Research Foundation Chennai Chapter, December 8, 2007.

"Gender and disasters," M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, February 27, 2007.

"Entrepreneurship in International Studies," Stella Maris College, February 9, 2007.

"Post-Tsunami International Relations: A Sea Change?" at the International Conference on Tsunami, Disaster Management and Coastal Development, Chennai, July 31, 2005.

"The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution & Peace Building: The South Asian Experience," Stella Maris College, Chennai, March 5, 2004.

"Women, Security, South Asia," Central Illinois Masjid and Islamic Center Weekly Seminar Series, Urbana, Illinois, April 25, 2003.

"Terrorism in Kashmir and Sri Lanka," ACDIS Millennium Series, seminar series of the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 9, 2003.

"Understanding Global Security," Keynote speaker, Connecticut Council for the Social Studies conference, New Haven, May 16, 2002.

"Ethnic Conflict and Inter-state Relations in South Asia," University of Connecticut, Storrs, March 4, 2002.

"War, Peace and Other Security Concerns in South Asia," lecture, *Perspectives on South Asia* workshop for K-12 teachers organized by the Program in International Educational Resources for International Affairs and the Council on South Asian Studies, Yale University, February 28, 2002.

"Rebuilding Afghanistan: Lessons from South Asia," School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, February 26, 2002.

"From Sri Lanka to Afghanistan: Global-Local Intersections in the Nation-building Process," Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, February 19, 2002.

"Understanding Security," lecture, *Capitol Forum*, teachers' workshop organized by the Yale Center for International & Area Studies, the League of Women Voters of Connecticut and the Office of the Secretary of State of Connecticut, Hartford, Connecticut, February 7, 2002.

"War, Peace and Other Security Concerns in South Asia," presentation at *Schell Center Human Rights Workshop Series*, Yale Law School, February 1, 2002.

"State, Nation, Community: Summary of a Three Country Comparative Study of National Integration," George Mason University, November 1, 2000.

"State Identity and National Integration," Seton Hall University, March 26, 1999.

"An Insider's View of India," lecture at St. Joseph's College, Rennselaer, Indiana, August 1998.

"Political Climate in Sri Lanka," presentation at a conference on the *Future of South Asia* organized by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Office of Continuing Education, Urbana, Illinois, June 1997.

"National Integration: A Comparative Perspective," informal presentation at the *Centre for Policy Research and Analysis*, University of Colombo, July 1996.

Media

ChennaiLive 104.8 FM, Talk show interview on violence against women as part of Prajnya 16 Days Campaign against Gender Violence, December 8, 2008.

Voice of America interview for program on Sri Lankan conflict, 10 October, 2002.

Other

United States Institute of Peace, Grants Review Panel (Unsolicited Grants), 2001.

Ad Hoc Committee to Draft Graduate Student Paper Competition Guidelines, for the Ethnicity, Nationalism and Migration Section of the International Studies Association, November 1998.

Coordinator, South Asian Brown Bag Seminars, Program in South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1993-95.

Affiliations

Asiatic Society of Bombay

Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH)

Publications

Projects in process

"Human Security in India," for Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies, 2nd edition, edited by Sumit Ganguly (chapter draft under review).

"Where the horizon ends: Reflections on "conflict"," for "Conflict in South Asia post-9/11" (working title), edited by Aneela Babar (book manuscript under review).

Books

Openings for Peace: UNSCR 1325, Women and Security in India, co-edited with Asha Hans, SAGE, 2016.

Women and Disasters in South Asia: Survival, Security and Development, co-edited with Linda Racioppi, Routledge India, 2016.

Security and South Asia: Ideas, Institutions and Initiatives, edited, Routledge India (2006).

Women, Security, South Asia: A Clearing in the Thicket, co-edited with Farah Faizal, Sage, (2005).

State and Nation in South Asia, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2001. (Indian reprint, Viva Books, January 2006).

Re-Distribution of Authority: A Cross-Regional Perspective, co- edited with Jeanie J. Bukowski, Praeger, Westport, 2000.

Articles, Published Papers And Book Chapters

"Peace, with women: Women's political participation in post-conflict contexts," in *Women and Politics of Peace: South Asia Narratives on Militarization, Power, and Justice*, edited by Rita Manchanda (SAGE, 2017).

"Grand Strategic Thought in the Ramayana and Mahabharata," in *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases*, edited by Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa, Routledge, 2014, pages 31-62.

"[Reflections on Feminism and Foreign Policy](#)," IIC Quarterly, Summer 2012.

"Whose Security, Whose Development? Lessons from Campaigns against Female Infanticide in Tamil Nadu," in *Political Transition and Development Imperatives in India*, Edited by Ranabir Samaddar and Suhit K. Sen, Routledge India, 2012.

"[Peace Refractions](#)," Peacebuilding issue, *Agenda*, October 2011.

"Militarization and post-war Sri Lankan democracy," *South Asian Journal*, July-September 2011.

"[Building a Feminist Peace](#)," *Seminar* 619, March 2011.

"[Gender Violence, Conflict, Internal Displacement And Peacebuilding](#)," *Peace Prints*, Volume 3, Number 1 (2010).

"[Reconciliation in the Indian Epics](#)," *Peace Prints*, Volume I, Number 1 (2008).

"[Peace Accords in Northeast India: Journey over Milestone](#)," East-West Center Washington Policy Studies Series 46 (2008).

"Silver Linings: Natural Disasters, International Relations and Political Change in South Asia, 2004-5," *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol 22 ed 4, December 2006.

"Securing Rama's World," in Swarna Rajagopalan, ed., *Security and South Asia: Ideas, Institutions and Initiatives*, edited, Routledge India, 2006.

"The Dravida Nadu Experience: Security, State-building and Secession from a Peninsular Perspective," in Gopalji Malviya, ed., *Security Dimensions of Peninsular India*, Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, 2005.

"Women and Security: In search of a new paradigm," in Farah Faizal and Swarna Rajagopalan, eds., *Women, Security, South Asia: A Clearing in the Thicket*, Sage, September 2005.

"Small States in South Asian International Affairs" for Devin Hagerty, ed., *South Asia in World Politics*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

"Research, policy, reality: Women, security, South Asia," in *Sustainable Development: Bridging the Research/ Policy Gaps in Southern Contexts. Volume 2: Social Policy*. Sustainable Development Policy Institute. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pages 80-97, 2005.

"Of Militants, Martyrs, Nations and States: Kashmir and Sri Lanka," special issue on "Rethinking Terrorism," *Swords and Ploughshares*, bulletin of the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Winter 2003.

"Secularism in India: Accepted Principle, Contentious Interpretation," in William Safran, ed., *The Secular and the Sacred: Nation, Religion and Politics*, Frank Cass, London, 2003.

"Re-building Afghanistan: Lessons from South Asia" (Comment), *Seminar*, February 2002.

"Demarcating Units, Re-distributing Authority: Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka," in Jeanie J. Bukowski and Swarna Rajagopalan, eds., *Re-distribution of Authority: A Cross-Regional Perspective*, Praeger, Westport, CT, May 2000.

"Internal Unit Demarcation and National Identity," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 5:3-4, Fall and Winter 1999, pp.191-211. (Special journal issue reprinted as William Safran and Ramon Maiz, eds., *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*, Frank Cass, London and Portland, Oregon, 2000.

"National Integration in India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan: Constitutional and Elite Visions," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 3:4, Winter 1997, pp.1-38.

"A Traveler's Collection of Tales," *Nethra*, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, Volume 1:4, July-September 1997, pp. 12-34.

"Identifying An Agenda: How And Why Ethnic Groups And Nations Choose Their Goal," *Occasional Paper*, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, November 1994.

"Management Of Diversity Through Integrative Strategies," *Swords and Ploughshares*, bulletin of the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Fall 1994.

Media publications

Print

"Women and their right to lead," *New Indian Express*, November 30, 2016. (Available at <http://www.newindianexpress.com/opinions/2016/nov/30/women-and-their-right-to-lead-1543956--1.html>)

"Gender violence at denial's end," *New Indian Express*, November 25, 2009. (Available at <http://www.prajnya.in/16d09medianie.htm#16d09o1>)

"Gender violence infringes human rights," *New Indian Express*, December 10, 2009. (Available at <http://www.prajnya.in/16d09medianie.htm#16d09o2>)

"What it means to be a woman in India," *New Indian Express*, November 25, 2008. (Available at <http://justswarna.blogspot.com/2009/04/that-could-be-me.html>)

"Through their bodies we strive," *New Indian Express*, November 3, 2008. (Available at <http://justswarna.blogspot.com/2008/11/two-nuns-two-indias-and-politics-of.html>)

"Going to work is fraught with great risk," *New Indian Express*, October 13, 2008. (Available at http://justswarna.blogspot.com/2008/11/work-as-extreme-sport_03.html)

"Kosi's distressed daughters," *New Indian Express*, Chennai, September 17, 2008. (Available at <http://justswarna.blogspot.com/2008/09/for-kosis-distressed-daughters.html>)

"Guardians stray from the straight path," *New Indian Express*, Chennai, August 25, 2008. (available at <http://justswarna.blogspot.com/2008/11/peacekeeping-and-gender.html>)

"[Stirrings of change in Maldives](#)," Foreign Panorama section, *Deccan Herald*, October 24, 2004.

"The Maldives: On the cusp of change?" *National Review*, Vol. 2, No. 9, September 2004.

"Sri Lanka: Politics, War and Peace," *National Review*, Vol. I No. 3, December 2003.

Electronic

Column: DNA web edition, available at

<http://www.dnaindia.com/authors/swarna-rajagopalan>

- The Universe in One Tangerine: A Politics of Inter-being, 17 June 2017
- Why multi-generational conversations are important, 10 April 2017
- 10 things to do in times of political upheaval, 27 March 2017
- Lessons from the political crisis in Tamil Nadu, 26 February 2017
- Gender equality: On hold, forever? 17 February 2017
- What does the 2017 Budget have for women? 2 February 2017

- Assembly polls 2017: Talking gender equality this election season, 8 January 2017
- What will define citizenship in India and the world in 2017? 30 December 2016
- Jayalalithaa & Hillary Clinton: On grief, glass ceilings and fighting back 11 December, 2016
- Songs of struggle, dreams of freedom, 29 November 2016
- Do no harm: 8 don'ts for the fight against gender violence, 25 November 2016
- US Elections 2016: On Hillary Clinton and feminist foreign policies, 6 November 2016
- Notes on peace from northern Sri Lanka, 5 October 2016
- Why our public discourse needs to improve for a better democracy, 26 June 2016
- Why National and State Women's Commissions are important and should be held accountable, 30 May 2016
- Marginal notes on new draft of the National Policy for Women, 19 May 2016
- Tamil Nadu elections: How many women will you nominate? 9 April, 2016
- Pushing for gender parity: Because women hold up half the sky, March 8, 2016
- How to observe International Women's Day: Do's and Don'ts, March 5, 2016
- How to plan a post-war transition to a gender-just peace, February 13, 2016
- Notes from the Chennai Floods: Better off than most, 6 December 2015
- 15 years of Resolution 1325: Why are women still not included at the peace table? 31 October 2015
- Five reasons the United Nations still matters at 70, 24 October 2015
- 15 years of Resolution 1325: All about women, peace and security, 14 October 2015
- Has foreign policy become irrelevant? 30 September 2015
- International Democracy Day: Taking ownership of democracy, 15 September 2015
- How Indians can respond constructively to the Syrian refugee crisis, 6 September 2015
- How we can transform youth activism into lasting civic engagement, 30 August 2015
- No more Hiroshimas, 6 August 2015
- A handy guide to helping NGOs effect social change, 1 August 2015
- The challenge of caregiving: Can we develop better support systems for the elderly? 21 July 2015
- International Yoga Day: Peace hangs by a breath, 21 June 2015
- One year of Modi government: The gender equality report card, 23 May 2015
- How has one year of the Modi government been for civil society and democracy? 17 May 2015
- Internet and civil society: Why #NetNeutrality is a democracy issue, 13 April 2015
- This International Women's Day, make a promise towards gender equality, 8 March 2015
- 10 years after Tsunami: The gendered impact of disasters and looking beyond vulnerability, 26 December 2014
- Six months on, here's a wishlist to the Narendra Modi government, 26 November 2014
- Home Ministry on Section 498-A: Justice in the times of 'disgruntled wives', 26 October 2014 -
- What makes people commit violence against women? World Bank report tries to find out, 23 September 2014
- Gender issues and disaster management: Why women must be included in the rehabilitation process, 16 September 2014
- Voices from Kandhamal: The life-shattering impact of communal violence on women, 6 September 2014
- Nawaz Sharif, Narendra Modi and the art of making friends, 9 June 2014
- The uncomfortable question of gender equality in Narendra Modi's cabinet, 27 May 2014
- The morning after Elections 2014 concluded, 17 May 2014
- Lok Sabha elections: Reflections on voting and conflict, 14 May 2014
- Lok Sabha elections: The stability delusion, 8 April 2014
- After Lok Sabha polls 2014, small steps to take towards full inclusion of women, 3 April 2014
- Lok Sabha elections 2014: Women are citizens and stakeholders, nothing less, 15 March 2014
- Lok Sabha elections 2014: What price polls for women in disturbed areas? 8 March 2014
- 2014 elections: Parties that ignore women's rights aren't worth your vote, 13 February 2014

- Why more women must participate in the 2014 elections, 5 February 2014
- Why women campaign against guns, 24 January 2014
- 3 steps to make your city safer, 7 January 2014
- Women in South Asia: Looking back at 2013, and ahead to 2014, 30 December 2013
- India-US diplomat row: Immunity, impunity and the gender factor, 19 December 2013
- One year after Delhi rape case, the courage to change is in our hands, 16 December 2013
- A citizenship deficit, 1 November 2013
- The Deadly Burden of Honour : War, Riots and Ethnic strife and Violence against Women, 27 October 2013
- Educating girls: The gift of infinite possibility, Saturday, 19 October 2013
- Infrastructure and Women - The tree-lined road to equality, Friday, 11 October 2013
- Governance: One idea in eight stories, Friday, 4 October 2013
- No Money, No Value : Women and Work, Friday, 27 September 2013
- Health and women in India: The instinct to care, the will to heal, Friday, 20 September 2013
- We are all works in progress, Thursday, 12 September 2013
- Where prices rise and the value of women declines, Friday, 6 September 2013
- "Hamara paisa, hamara hisaab", 29 August 2013
- Why aren't women and girls safe in India? 23 August 2013

Column: "Small World," InfochangeIndia.org, available at <http://infochangeindia.org/governance/small-world/>

- Becoming Indian, August 2011
- The road from 11 to 21, September 2011
- Women, conflict, rights, October 2011
- The pursuit of happiness, January 2012
- Diaspora, citizenship and the right to vote
- Stirred by a foreign hand? April 2012
- Allergic about autonomy, June 2012
- Why sexual violence in conflict is an Indian problem, June 2014
- How many women in 2019? September 2014

"Who will bell the cat?" InfochangeIndia.org, April 2011, available at <http://infochangeindia.org/201104198762/Governance/Backgrounder/Who-will-bell-the-cat.html>

"Contextualising Reservations for Women," InfochangeIndia.org, April 2010, available at <http://infochangeindia.org/201004018208/Governance/Analysis/Contextualising-reservations-for-women.html>

Security for All, series for InfochangeIndia.org, November 2008 till present, available at <http://infochangeindia.org/Governance/Security-for-all/>

- Whose security are we talking about? November 2008
- Violence against women and security November 2008
- Security lessons amid disaster ruins, December 2008
- Security and democracy, January 2009
- Security in a world of people on the move, March 2009
- Making tough choices: Elections and security, May 2009
- Pulse Readings: Public health and security, July 2009

"[A Season of Political Change in South Asia, Focus: Maldives](#)," Indogram.com, May 16, 2005.

"[A Season of Political Change in South Asia, Focus: Bhutan](#)," Indogram.com, May 4, 2005.

"[A Season Of Political Change In South Asia, Focus: Nepal](#)," Indogram.com, April 10, 2005.

"[A Report Card for March 8th, 2005](#)," Indogram.com, March 10, 2005.

[“In just a few well-chosen words. \(No, no, not mine!\)”](#) Indogram.com, January 23, 2005.

[“Towards the turning of the tide,”](#) Indogram.com, 3 January, 2005.

[“Islamabad Diary, December 2004,”](#) Indogram.com, 22 December, 2004.

[“Lankai: Amaidhi Thodara India Yenna Cheyya Vendum?”](#) (In Tamil; Translation of “Sri Lanka: Can Peace Be Seized From The Jaws Of Conflict?”) *Thisaigal*, December 2003.

Reports

[Within and Beyond Borders: An Independent Review of Post-Conflict Fund Support to Refugees and the Internally Displaced](#), Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, World Bank, October 2004.

Briefings

Chaitanya Brief Volume 1, No. 3: [Keeping South Asia’s Children Safe: The Child Rights-Security Interface](#), November 14, 2005.

Chaitanya Brief Volume 1, No. 2: [Post-Tsunami International Relations: A Sea Change?](#) June 26, 2005.

Chaitanya Brief Volume 1, No. 1: [Maldives: Democratic Transition in the offing?](#) June 4, 2005.

[The LTTE Proposals and Sri Lanka’s Peace Prospects](#), November 2, 2003.

Online learning resources

For Chaitanya—the Policy Consultancy, resource guides were created between 2004 and 2006 on a range of issues from democratization in the Maldives, to gender equity, to children and security. These were placed at <http://www.chaitanyaconsult.in/chaitanya/policy.html> but the site has since been reconstructed and some links are lost.

“The Iraq Question,” <http://www.staff.uiuc.edu/~swarnar/iraqpage.htm>. February-March 2003. Now available at <http://www.swarnar.com/iraqpage.htm>.

“On events in Gujarat.” <http://pantheon.yale.edu/~sr323/gujevents.htm>. Resource page created to provide contextual information and resource links after communal riots broke out in India, March 2002. Now available at <http://www.swarnar.com/gujevents.htm>.

Alliance for Lifelong Learning, Learning Guide on India-Pakistan conflict (<http://www.allianceforlifelonglearning.org/er/IndiaPakistanK.html>), January-February 2002. Now available at <http://www.alllearn.org/er/lg/IndiaPakistanK.shtml>.

“Contextualizing the events of September 11 and thereafter.” (<http://pantheon.yale.edu/~sr323/sept11.htm>). This is an online resource page maintained October-November 2001, containing links to background information and analyses of the events of September 11, 2001 and thereafter. Now available at <http://www.swarnar.com/sept11.htm>.

Blogs

http://asiasecurity.macfound.org/experts/bio/swarna_rajagopalan/

<http://justswarna.blogspot.com>

<http://keepingcount.wordpress.com>

Other writing

Available at <http://www.swarnar.com/writing.htm>

Book Reviews

Nira Wickramasinghe, Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History of Contested Identities, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2006 in *The Book Review*.

Radhika Coomaraswamy and Nimanthi Perera-Rajasingham, editors, Constellations of Violence: Feminist Interventions in South Asia, Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2008, in *The Book Review*.

N. Manoharan, Democratic Dilemma: Ethnic Violence and Human Rights in Sri Lanka, Samskriti, New Delhi, 2008, in *The Book Review*.

Review of Roshmi Goswami, MG Sreekala and Meghna Goswami, Women in armed Conflict Situations: A Study by North East Network, North East Network, Guwahati, May 2005 and Gunjan Veda, Tailoring peace... The Citizens' Roundtable on Manipur and Beyond, North East Network, Guwahati, April 2005, in *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*.

Review of Roland Paris, At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, in *International Studies* (Jawaharlal Nehru University), XLIII:1, January-March 2006.

Review of Nigel Biggar, editor, Burying The Past: Making Peace And Doing Justice After Civil Conflict, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 2003, in *Millennium Journal of International Studies* (forthcoming).

Review of Geeti Sen, editor, India: A National Culture? Sage Publications, New Delhi and India International Centre, 2003, in *Journal of Asian Studies* (forthcoming).

Review of Michael M. Cernea and Christopher McDowell, editors, Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees, World Bank, Washington, DC, 2000, in *Contemporary South Asia*, 11:2, 2002.

Review of Stephen Peter Rosen, Societies & Military Power: India and Its Armies, Cornell, 1996, in *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 1:3, December 1997.

Review of Abdul Aziz and David Arnold, ed., Decentralised Governance in Asian Countries, Sage, New Delhi, 1996, in *Contemporary South Asia*, VI:3, November 1997.

Review of Stig Toft Madsen, State, Society and Human Rights in South Asia, Manohar, 1996, in *Contemporary South Asia*, VII:3, November 1998.

Conference Participation

Papers

"Equality, Democracy, Violence and Gender: Thinking about Sex-Selective Abortions." at the 2016 International Political Science Association World Congress, Poznan, Poland, July 2016.

"Baby Girl Blues: Patriarchy, Gender, Democracy and Violence," for the MCRG-IIAS workshop on *Democracy and Violence in Contemporary India*, Shimla, September 2011.

"Reconciliation: An Indian's Response to the State of the Art," at *Reconciliation in South Asia* symposium, WISCOMP-International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, New Delhi, March 2005.

"Epic Roots: Women, Democracy and Governance in the Valmiki Ramayana," at the 7th *Sustainable Development Conference*, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan, December 2004.

"The Dravida Nadu Experience: Security, State-building and Secession from a Peninsular Perspective," at the seminar on *Security Dimensions of Peninsular India*, Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, India, March 22-23, 2004.

“Conceptualizing Security, Securing Women,” at the *National Seminar on Challenges to Peace and Security in South Asia: Emerging Trends*, University of Madras Department of Defence Studies, Chennai, India, February 19, 2004.

“Research, Policy, Reality: Women, Security, South Asia,” written for the *6th Sustainable Development Conference*, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan, December 2003.

“Of Militants, Martyrs, Nations and States: Kashmir and Sri Lanka,” at the conference on *Rethinking Terrorism*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, October 2002.

“An Anatomy of the Sri Lankan Conflict,” at the conference on “Sri Lankan Conflict at the Crossroads,” organized by the Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, Portugal, June 2002.

“Women, Conflict, South Asia: An Exploratory Essay,” paper presented as part of a panel, “An Equitable Peace: Women in Ethnic and National Conflicts and the Post-Conflict Context,” at the *International Studies Association* meeting, Chicago, Illinois, February 2001.

“Women and Security: A South Asian Perspective,” paper presented at “Risks And Rights In The 21st Century,” *Women and Gender in Global Perspectives Program Symposium 2000*, Urbana, Illinois, Oct. 20-21, 2000.

“Demarcating Units, Redistributing Authority,” paper presented as part of a panel, “Redistribution of Authority: Breaking Geographical and Theoretical Barriers in the Study of Governance,” at the *International Studies Association* meeting, Washington, DC, February 1999.

“When States Teach History,” paper presented as part of a panel, “Nationalism, Identity, and Education in Asia,” at the *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 1998.

“Secularism in India: Accepted Principle, Contentious Interpretations,” paper contributed to workshop, *The Secular and the Sacred: The Democratic Republic and the Problem of Religion*, International Society for the Study of European Ideas Conference, Haifa, Israel, August 1998.

“Internal Unit Demarcation and National Identity,” paper contributed to colloquium on *Identity and Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*, University of Santiago, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, July 1998.

“National Integration as Community-Building,” paper presented as part of the panel, “Constructing Communities: In Search of a Builder’s Guide” at the *International Studies Association* meeting, Minneapolis, March 1998.

“When States Teach School History, Does History Make Nations of States? A Comparison of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka,” paper presented as part of a panel, “The Politics of Teaching History and the ‘Nation’-building Project,” at the *American Historical Association* meeting, Seattle, January 1998.

“Tamil is my mother; India, a feeling in my heart,” paper presented as part of a panel, “What is India? The Regions Respond,” at the *26th Annual Conference on South Asia*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 1997.

“Defining the Nation-State Through Its Units,” paper presented at the *American Political Science Association* meeting, Washington D.C., August 1997.

“National Integration and the Walls Within: The State in Search of Self,” paper presented at the *International Political Science Association* meeting, Seoul, South Korea, August 1997.

“A Traveler’s Collection of Tales,” paper presented as part of a panel, “Voices of History, Visions of State,” at the *25th Annual Conference on South Asia* in Madison, Wisconsin, October 1996.

“A Feminist Perspective on South Asian Security,” paper presented as part of a panel, “Gender, Security, South Asia,” at the *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Champaign, Illinois, October 1996.

“Identity or Integration or Both? A Comparison of the Sri Lankan and Indian ‘Tamil Crises’,” paper presented at the *5th Sri Lanka Conference* in Durham, New Hampshire, August 1995.

“Security In The Early Indian Tradition,” paper presented at the *23rd Annual Conference on South Asia* in Madison, Wisconsin, November 1994, and at the Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, Macomb, Illinois, September 1994.

“Identifying An Agenda: How And Why Ethnic Groups And Nations Choose Their Goal,” paper presented at the *Midwest International Studies Association* in Columbus, Ohio in October 1994.

Presentations

“The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution & Peace Building: The South Asian Experience,” presentation at Stella Maris College, Chennai, March 2004.

Speaker, panel on “Secessionist-Related Issues of Insurgency & Terrorism,” at the *National Advisory Council on South Asian Affairs* symposium on “Is South Asia the most dangerous place on earth?” Washington DC, April 2002.

“Nationalism and Secessionist Movements,” presentation at the *National Advisory Council on South Asian Affairs conference*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 1999.

“The Economic Transition in India and Indian Women,” presentation at a conference on *China, India and Russia: Progress and Challenges of Economic Transition*, East Lansing, Michigan, October 1998.

Speaker, panel on “Regional Action in South Asia,” *New Realities: Disarmament, Peacebuilding and Global Security*, NGO Committee on Disarmament International Disarmament Conference, United Nations Headquarters, New York, April 20-23, 1993.

Discussant/ Panelist

Panelist, *Perspectives on South Asia: Caste and Gender*, workshop for K-12 teachers organized by the Program in International Educational Resources for International Affairs and the Council on South Asian Studies, Yale University, May 9th, 2002.

Panelist, *Perspectives on South Asia: Imagining “India”*, workshop for K-12 teachers organized by the Program in International Educational Resources for International Affairs and the Council on South Asian Studies, Yale University, December 6th, 2001.

Discussant, “Federalism and Democratization,” Re-Thinking India's Democracy: The Politics of Social and Institutional Change, at the *30th Conference on South Asia*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 2001.

Discussant, “Creating and Sustaining Nationalism,” *International Studies Association*, Chicago, Illinois, February 2001.

Discussant, panels on Indian politics and gender issues in development in Asia, at the *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, East Lansing, Michigan, September 1999.

Discussant, panel on the Origins of Conflict, Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Prevention, *The T.I.E.S. That Bind : Technology, Intervention , Ethnicity, and Conflict Management in the Post-Cold War Era*, workshop at the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, November 19, 1994.

Discussant, panels on South Asian Security, *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Macomb, Illinois, September 23-25, 1994.

Chair/Facilitator

Facilitator, Women and Peacebuilding Roundtable, Third Annual Conflict Transformation Workshop, organized by *Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace*, September 2004.

Chair, "An Equitable Peace: Women in Ethnic and National Conflicts and the Post-Conflict Context," *International Studies Association*, Chicago, Illinois, February 2001.

Chair, panel on Gender Issues in Asia, *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Champaign, Illinois, September 1996.

Chair, panels on South Asian Security, *Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs*, Macomb, Illinois, September 23-25, 1994.

Panel Organizer

"An Equitable Peace: Women in Ethnic and National Conflicts and the Post-Conflict Context," *International Studies Association*, Chicago, Illinois, February 2001.

"Constructing Communities: In Search of a Builders' Guide," *International Studies Association*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 1998.

"The Politics of Teaching History and the Nation-Building Process," *American History Association*, Seattle, Washington, January 1998.

"What is India? The Regions Respond," *South Asia Conference*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 1997.

"Voices of History, Visions of State," *South Asia Conference*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 1996.

Grants and honors

Blogger Award, MacArthur Foundation, 2009-11.

Ford Foundation grant for book project with Farahnaz Faizal, *Women, Security, South Asia: A Clearing in the Thicket*, February 2003.

APSA Foreign Student Travel Grant, 1997.

Ford Foundation/ACDIS Fellowship, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1992-93.

College Open Merit Scholarship, Elphinstone College, Bombay, 1981-82.

Languages English, Tamil, Hindi, French.