



IFJP

4TH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE

The University
of Queensland

Brisbane, Australia
18-19 June 2015

THE DIFFERENCE
THAT **GENDER**
MAKES TO PEACE
AND SECURITY

International Feminist
Journal of Politics Conference
CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Welcome to the IFJP Conference 2015, 18-19 June 2015

In keeping with the spirit of Reconciliation, we acknowledge the traditional owners of the land, Turrbal and Jagera peoples, on which the International Feminist Journal of Politics (IFJP) 2015 Conference is being held. We wish to pay respect to their Elders – past, present, and emerging – and acknowledge the important role Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people continue to play within the our community.

The International Feminist Journal of Politics is a scholarly journal published quarterly by Taylor & Francis and hosts an annual scholarly conference on different themes in different locations around the world. The University of Queensland, Monash University, and Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect are delighted to have contributed to host the journal's fourth conference and first to be held in Australia. Given this auspicious event, we would like to acknowledge the contribution of IFJP first editor of the journal, Jan Jindy Pettman, Australian National University (ANU), who is retired but a most welcome guest at this Conference.

The theme for the 2015 Conference The Difference that Gender Makes to International Peace and Security. It is twenty years since delegate countries signed the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action; and fifteen years since the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security. Over the last twenty years understanding the effects of gender inequality on international peace and security has led to much study and debate. Feminist-informed scholarship has deepened collective understanding of the preconditions for lasting peace and security. Yet, the argument that gender equality is not an optional extra but essential for the maintenance of international peace and security still struggles to be heard. This conference aims to give voice to the contribution of scholarship and activism in defending women's rights and the right to participate in peace and security in this region, and beyond. This project has captured the imagination of feminist scholars from all around the world: Africa, South and South East Asia, Pacific Islands, New Zealand, Europe and United Kingdom, United States and South America, as well as from Australia's Indigenous community.

This conference is honoured to have distinguished speakers commit their time to attend and support our event. We thank Honourable Shannon Fentiman, Minister for Communities, Women and Youth, Minister for Child Safety and Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Queensland Government for opening the conference. We thank Captain Jennifer Wittwer, Director National Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security, Australian Defence Force, for providing the opening address. We sincerely thank Ms Gaynel Curry, Gender and Women's Rights Advisor to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), for making the long journey to give the keynote plenary.

The conference is grateful for the attendance and participation of practitioners and scholars. From senior to sessional academics, undergraduate and postgraduate students, as well as the participation of civil society and government in the audience, it is wonderful to have such diversity in our panels and presentations.

Finally, we thank those who have provided financial, administrative and executive support. We sincerely appreciate the contribution of the IFJP Journal for providing kind advice and material support. Particularly, Associate Professor Laura Sjoberg, Professor Heidi Hudson, Professor Cindy Weber and Catherine Jean. We thank the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect and its Director, Professor Alex Bellamy, for providing financial and administrative support. We thank Monash University for their financial support. We thank UQ's School of Political Science and International Studies for agreeing to host the event. Our appreciation to Anne Kuskopf, at the Women's College, for her assistance in giving IFJP 2015 a home for two days. We would like to acknowledge the contribution of Amy Jelaic, Vice President the Vice-President (Gender and Sexuality) at the UQ Union, who ran a bursary competition to fund five undergraduate registrations for the conference. Our sincere thanks to our student volunteer cohort, the UQ R2P Student Coalition, and Dyonne Pennings.

Please follow the conference on Twitter and use hashtag #IFJP2015.
We hope you enjoy the conference.

Sara Davies, QUT and Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect
Nicole George, University of Queensland
Jacqui True, Monash University
IFJP 2015 Organising Committee

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About the Keynote speakers



Ms Gaynel Curry

Gaynel Curry is the Gender and Women's Rights Advisor for the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in New York. In this capacity she works closely with the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and provides substantive supports to the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its causes and consequences, UN Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children and the UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women in law and practice. Ms Curry leads OHCHR's engagement with the Commission on the Status of Women and in other inter-governmental bodies where there is a focus on women's rights. She represents her office on the Advisory Panel of the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women, the UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict and the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality. Ms. Curry led the set-up of the women protection advisors in the UN Mission in South Sudan, as well as the rollout of the monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements (MARA) in response to conflict-related sexual violence.



**The Honourable
Shannon Fentiman**

Shannon Fentiman the Minister for Communities, Women and Youth, Minister for Child Safety and Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Queensland Government. She is committed to social justice and throughout her career has worked to improve the lives of working people. She has also worked tirelessly in a voluntary capacity for charities and groups that support women and families in need. Now a Minister, Shannon's portfolio takes in the communities sector, an area which the Palaszczuk Government is reinvigorating through increased support for Queensland's most vulnerable. Prior to her election to the Queensland Parliament as the Member for Waterford, Shannon worked as an employment lawyer in Beenleigh. She was also a Judge's Associate in the Supreme Court of Queensland to her Honour Justice Atkinson. Shannon has been a board member of the Logan Women's Health and Wellbeing Centre, Secretary of the Centre Against Sexual Violence in Logan and the Duty Solicitor at the Beenleigh Neighbourhood Centre.



Capt Jennifer Wittwer

Capt. Jennifer Wittwer is responsible for implementing Australia's national response to United Nations Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security across Defence. In this role CAPT Wittwer also contributes to North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) efforts to integrate gender perspective in peace and security operations. In 2013, CAPT Wittwer was the Gender Advisor at International Security Assistance Force Joint Command in Afghanistan, responsible for implementing NATO's policies on women, peace and security into military operations. Prior to this, CAPT Wittwer was the inaugural Navy Women's Strategic Advisor, advising Navy's senior leadership on the participation of women. In this role she developed and implemented the Navy Women leadership, mentoring and networking programs. In addition, she developed the Navy Women's Leadership Strategy 2012-2015 to further drive gender initiatives.

Conference Registration 830-920 Foyer May Hancock Auditorium, Women's College, UQ		
Welcome tea and coffee		
Thursday 18 June 920-1040		
Opening Plenary : May Hancock Auditorium		
Welcome <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Professor Joanne Tompkins HASS Associate Dean (Research) 		
Acknowledgement of Country <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ms Mundanara Bayles Managing Director, The Black Card 		
Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Professor Joanne Wright Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic) 		
Speakers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Honourable Shannon Fentiman Minister for Communities Women and Youth, Minister for Child Safety and Minister for Multicultural Affairs QLD Government Captain Jennifer Wittwer Director, National Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security Australian Defence Force 		
Morning Tea 1040-1100		
Thursday 18 1100-1230 Parallel Sessions 1		
Panel 1: May Hancock Auditorium Launching Megan Mackenzie's 'Beyond the Band of Brothers' (Cambridge, 2015) Chair: Jacqui True, Monash Participants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Megan Mackenzie, University of Sydney Ann Tickner, American University Swati Parashar, Monash University Laura Shepherd, UNSW Lt Col. Jenelle Lawson, Australian Defence Force 	Panel 2 : Freda Bage Common Room Gender, Women's Rights and Political Economy Chair: Jindy Pettman, ANU <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>'Life' at the Border: Reflecting on scholarship and the experiences of women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico</i> Ellen Finlay, University of Sydney <i>Women's empowerment through resistance in post-authoritarian Indonesia</i> Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, Monash University <i>Gender and Precarity in Subaltern Struggles in India</i> Manisha Desai, University of Connecticut 	Panel 3 : Lurleen Perrett Seminar Room Gender, Participation and the Nation Chair: Nicole George, UQ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Women candidates in the 2014 Solomon Island Elections – Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways</i> Kerryn Baker and Priya Chattier, ANU <i>Gender Norms, Motherhood as "Sacred Duty" and National Identity in Turkey</i> Julia Richardson, Deakin University <i>Women Leading the Battle against Ebola: Case Studies in Courage, Creativity, Care, and Community Champions</i> Roxanne Richter, University of Johannesburg
Thursday 1230-1330 Lunch		

Thursday 1330-1500 Parallel Sessions 2		
<p>Panel 4: May Hancock Auditorium</p> <p>Norm Entrepreneurship and Institutional Change Chair: Ann Tickner, American University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>A 'shift in attitude'? Institutional Change and Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia</i> Emma Palmer, UNSW & Sarah Williams, UNSW • <i>Wilberforce for the 21st Century? William Hague, Norm Entrepreneurship and the Prevention of Sexual Violence (in Conflict) Initiative</i>, Sara Davies QUT, Jacqui True, Monash University • <i>'Gender' in the UN: From radical underpinnings to current depoliticised understandings in peacekeeping training</i> Lisa Carson, University of Melbourne 	<p>Panel 5 :Fred Bage Common Room</p> <p>Women Peace Builders/ Spoilers Chair: Susan Harris Rimmer, ANU</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gender, Conflict and State building in Kachin State, Myanmar</i> Jenny Hedström, Monash University • <i>Women and the Mindanao Conflict, the Philippines</i> Nyla Grace Prieto, International IDEA, Australia • <i>Gendering the Maoist Conflict in India: Women's Bodies and the Continuum of Violence</i> Swati Parashar, Monash University, 	<p>Panel 6: Lurleen Perrett Seminar Room</p> <p>Gender and the Representation of conflict, peace and displacement Chair: Annie Pohlman , UQ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bodies in War: Narratives on Women in Nationalist Resistance in Sri Lanka and Ireland</i> Shamara Ransirini, UQ • <i>"If it bleeds it leads – unless it's menstrual": The role of international media support in perpetuating gender inequality in aftermath environments</i> Jacky Sutton, ANU • <i>Social Media/ 'Girlhood': Hashtagging Girlhood: #IAmMalala, #BringBackOurGirls, and Engaging Global Politics Through Gendered Representations</i>, Helen Berents, QUT
Thursday 1500-1530 Afternoon Tea		
Thursday 1530-1700 Parallel Sessions 3		
<p>Panel 7 : May Hancock Auditorium</p> <p>Women, Peace and Security Agenda in ASEAN Chair: Sara Davies, QUT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Framing Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in the ASEAN: Mapping Regional Initiatives and Exploring Institutional Mechanisms on Protecting Women from Gender-based Mass Atrocities</i> Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, University of Ateneo • <i>ACWC's Review Mechanism: the Opportunity to Integrate Responsibility to Protect Women and Children in ASEAN</i> Yuyun Wahyuningrum, HRWG Indonesia, and Sarah Teitt, APCR2P • <i>Situating gender in ASEAN's journey to human rights: De-politicisation, institutionalisation and the Women, Peace and Security agenda</i> Mathew Davies, ANU • <i>Could ASEAN's new gender & peace architecture make a difference to the rights of Burmese women in transition?</i> Susan G. Harris-Rimmer, ANU 	<p>Panel 8: Freda Bage Common Room</p> <p>Theorising Gender, Violence and Security in international politics Chair: Catherine Jean, IFJP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Cultural Norms and Violence Against Women: Towards an "Empathetic Critique"</i> Swati Parashar Monash University and David Duriesmith, University of Melbourne • <i>Dialectic of Culture and Autonomy</i> Steve On, National Sun Yat-sen University • <i>"We must speak for them" : Constructing human trafficking in Australia</i> Naomi Atkins, ANU 	<p>Panel 9: Lurleen Perrett Seminar Room</p> <p>Inside/outside: grounded methodologies in the study of feminist international politics Chair : Laura Shepherd, UNSW</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>'It's Complicated!' The Insider-Outsider Dynamics of Conducting Fieldwork in Post-Conflict Liberia</i> Michelle Dunn, UQ • <i>They trust me or they trust me not? Dilemmas of an insider doing research on property rights of women in patriarchal Pakistani Muslim society</i> Humaira Shafi, UQ • <i>Qu'attendez-vous de moi, madame?" Building "insider/ outsider" collaboration on gender-focussed research in the Pacific Islands.</i> Nicole George, UQ
Evening Keynote and Reception 1730-1930		

Terrace Room, 6th Floor, Llew Edwards Building, 14.

Welcome:

- Professor Alex Bellamy
Center Director,
Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to
Protect
School of Political Science and International
Studies, UQ

Keynote Speaker

- Ms Gaynel Curry
Gender and Women's Rights Advisor to UN Office
of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

Cocktail Reception 1830-1930

Friday 19 June 830-9.00 Conference Registration

Foyer May Hancock Auditorium

Welcome tea and coffee

Friday 19 June 900-10.30 Parallel Session 4

Panel 10 : May Hancock Auditorium

**Women Peace and Security: Translation,
Implementation and Challenges of UNSCR 1325**

Chair : Jacqui True, Monash University

- *Counting the Cost: The impact of the Single Non-Transferable Vote on Women in Afghanistan*
Author(s) and institutional affiliation
Jacky Sutton, ANU
- *Paying for Peace and Gender Equality: The Context of the UN Security Council* Author(s) and institutional affiliation:
Soumita Basu, South Asian University
- *Victims of Violence and/or Agents of Change: Women (and Peace and Security) in UN Peacebuilding Discourse*
Laura J. Shepherd, UNSW
- *Shadowing the NAP: Civil society engagement with state implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Australia*
Susan Hutchison, ANU, and Katrina Lee-Koo, Monash University

Panel 11: Freda Bage Common Room

Gender violence in conflict and post conflict transition

Chair: Karin Aggestam, Lund University

- *The paradox of peacebuilding in the SADC region: case study of South Africa*
Sharon Groenmeyer, University of Johannesburg
- *Sex-selective and gendered forms of violence: what do the 1965-66 Indonesian massacres tell us about gender and genocide?*
Annie Pohlman, UQ
- *Medical outcasts: Conflict-induced Zimbabwean and Mexican undocumented migrants fighting gendered and institutionalized xenophobia in American and South African emergency healthcare*
Roxanne Richter, University of the Witwatersrand

Panel 12: Lurleen Perrett Seminar Room

Queer Governance

Chair: Helen Berents, QUT

- *The Materialities of Queer Governance in Modern Turkey*
Paul Gordon Kramer, University of Auckland
- *Queer Just Wars?*
Tom Moore, University of Westminster
- *'The Homosexual Question': Are LGBT rights a security issue?*
Corinne Mason, Brandon University.

Morning Tea 1030-1100

Friday 18 1100-12.30 Parallel Session 5		
<p>Panel 13: May Hancock Auditorium</p> <p>Gendering the conflict transition process Chair : Anne Brown, UQ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Are we trading women's rights in transitions?</i> Susan G. Harris Rimmer, ANU • <i>Gender, mediation and peace negotiations</i> Karin Aggestam, Lund University • <i>"Light, heat and shadows: Women's reflections on peacebuilding and conflict transition in Bougainville"</i> Nicole George, UQ 	<p>Panel 14: Freda Bage Common Room</p> <p>Political Economy, Environment and Security Chair: Laura Sjoberg, University of Florida</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Invisible Labour, Invisible Bodies: How the Global Political Economy Affects Reproductive Freedom</i> Maria Tanyag, Monash University • <i>It's not personal; it's just business: a gender analysis of economies in Timor-Leste</i> Sara Niner, Monash University • <i>Close(d) Encounters: Feminist Security studies, Feminist International Political Economy and the return to basics</i> Heidi Hudson, University of the Free State • <i>Gender and agency in the face of environmental crises: adaptation in southwest Bangladesh</i> Amy McMahon, UQ 	
<p>Lunch 1230-1330</p> <p>Freda Bage Common Room</p> <p>UQ R2P Student Coalition: Informal Panel Discussion on Gender and R2P featuring</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sara Davies, QUT • Nicole George, UQ • Laura Shepherd, UNSW 		
Friday 1330-1500 Parallel Sessions 6		
<p>Panel 15 : May Hancock Auditorium</p> <p>Gendering the Global Conflict Protection framework Chair: Heidi Hudson, University of the Free State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Feminist ripostes to the responsibility to protect doctrine</i> Susan G. Harris-Rimmer, ANU • <i>Reparations for Rape: Policies, Promises, and Consequences,</i> Alexis Leanna Henshaw, Bucknell University • <i>The politics of protection in post-neutral states: Gendered Security?</i> Christine Agius, Swinburne University, Karen Devine, Dublin City University 	<p>Panel16: Freda Bage Common Room</p> <p>Indigenous women's perspectives on gender, peace and security Chair: Elizabeth Strakosch, UQ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mundanara Bayles, The Black Card • Lilla Watson, The Black Card • Denise Proud, University of Sunshine Coast 	<p>Panel 17: Lurleen Perrett Seminar Room</p> <p>Implementing the UNSCR 1325 Mandate Chair: Soumita Basu, South Asian University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Women, Peace and Security: Translation, Implementation and Challenges of UNSCR 1325 in BiH</i> Jagoda Rosul-Gajic, Columbia University/ Universität der Bundeswehr München • <i>Contestation or co-optation? A feminist analysis of the National Action Plans in Norway and United States</i> Barbara Trojanowska, University of Monash • <i>Bargaining for Peace: masculinities, peacebuilding and patriarchal bargaining</i> David Duriesmith, University of Melbourne
<p>Friday 1500-1530 Afternoon Tea</p>		

Friday 1530-1630 Closing Parallel Sessions:	
May Hancock Auditorium Publishing Feminist Research on International Politics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laura Sjoberg, University of Florida • Heidi Hudson, University of the Free State • Laura Shepherd, UNSW • Sara Davies, QUT 	Freda Bage Common Room Young Feminist Leaders and Allies Forum Chair: Sara Teitt, APCR2P <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Molly Frankham, R2P Student Coalition • Amy Jelaic, UQ Union • Ayesha Lutshini, Meri Toksave • Tasman Bain, Meri Toksave • Libby Feeny, One Woman Project
Friday 1630-1640 Conference Close May Hancock Auditorium	

Welcome

Professor Joanne Tompkins

Associate Dean (Research), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Queensland

Acknowledgement of Country

Ms Mundanara Bayles

Managing Director, The Black Card

Introduction

Professor Joanne Wright

Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic), University of Queensland

The Honourable Shannon Fentiman

Minister for Communities Women and Youth, Minister for Child Safety and Minister for Multicultural Affairs, QLD Government

Please see page 3 for bio information

Captain Jennifer Wittwer

Director, National Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security Australian Defence Force

Please see page 3 for bio information

Panel One: Launching Megan Mackenzie's 'Beyond the Band of Brothers' (Cambridge, 2015)

Chair: Jacqui True (Monash University)

Jacqui True is Professor of Politics & International Relations and an Australian Research Council Future Fellow at Monash University, Australia. She received her PhD from York University, Toronto, Canada and has held academic positions at Michigan State University, the University of Southern California, and the University of Auckland. She is specialist in Gender and International Relations. Her articles on gender mainstreaming and global governance and feminist research methodologies rank among the most highly cited in the field. Her current research is focused on the prevention of mass sexual violence in Asia Pacific and the political economy of post-conflict violence against women.

Jacqui.True@monash.edu

Megan Mackenzie (University of Sydney)

Megan MacKenzie a leading expert on gender, security and women in combat and the author of *Beyond the Band of Brothers: the US Military and the Myth that Women Can't Fight* (June 2015). Megan is a Senior Lecturer of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney, Australia and a former post-doctoral fellow with the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the Women and Public Policy Program at Harvard University. Her research connects security, military studies, and feminist theory.
megan.mackenzie@sydney.edu.au

Ann Tickner (American University)

Ann Tickner is Professor Emerita in the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California and Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the School of International Service at American University, Washington DC. Her principle areas of research include international theory, peace and security, and feminist approaches to international relations.

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Swati Parashar (Monash University)

Swati Parashar is Lecturer in Politics & International Relations, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Monash. Swati has held full time academic appointments at the School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong in Australia and at the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Limerick in Ireland. Swati is interested in understanding and theorising the nature of political violence and wars in South Asia, particularly women as perpetrators and survivors of violence. Her interest in political violence is based on experiences of growing up in an India in the last two decades when state and non-state violence have been on

the rise while political spaces have been marked by intense contestations among various actors.
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Laura Shepherd (University of New South Wales)

Laura Shepherd is an Associate Professor of International Relations at the School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, UNSW. Laura's research focuses on gender politics, international relations and critical security studies. Specific research interests include peace and security governance, the politics and practices of United Nations and the intertextuality of politics and popular culture. Laura is particularly interested in poststructural accounts of gender, International Relations and security and much of her work investigates concepts and performances of authority, legitimacy and power through these theoretical frameworks.

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Lt. Col. Jenelle Lawson (Australian Defence Force)

Panel Two: Women's Rights and Political Economy

Chair: Jindy Pettman (Australian National University)

(Jan) Jindy Pettman is emeritus professor of the Australian National University, where previously she was head of the Centre for Women's Studies and professor of International Relations. Her long academic career traversed development, indigenous, and migration studies, and peace studies. Her publications include *Living in the Margins: Racism, Sexism and Feminism in Australia*, and *Worlding Women: a feminist international politics*. She was a founding editor of the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, and continues on its editorial board.

'Life' at the Border: Reflecting on scholarship and the experiences of women in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico

Ellen Finlay (University of Sydney)

The City of Juárez is located in Mexico along the border adjoining El Paso, Texas. Transnational exchange and cross-border activity are features of this bi-state metropolitan expanse. Juárez however is subject to racist and sexist transnational trade, development and security policies and practices that manifest in ongoing inequality. These relationships of inequality are perpetuated through structural violence, overt violence and killing. Whilst Mexico is signatory to regional and international women's human rights regimes the gendered inequality remains pervasive in planned policies and future economic agreements.

The targeted killing of women, made visible in the mid-1990s by advocacy groups calling on the state to "end the impunity" met with public suspicion. Many hundreds of women are missing or found gruesomely murdered around the city, targeted specifically because they are women. State interest in investigating these cases however remains negligible with much of the public attention focused on the overt violence in Juárez generated during former President Calderón's 'War on (drug) Cartels'. The escalated homicide rate and violence in Juárez is attributed to non-state actors involved in transnational criminal organisations, yet this discourse problematically subsumes and neutralises wider processes enabling the current conditions of violence. Utilising and reflecting upon insights from Mark Duffield as well as Melissa Wright's feminist interpretation of Achille Mbembe's "Necropolitics" it is made clear through feminist and critical analysis there is a need to reexamine the implementation of international rights frameworks in a context where human rights are subordinated to economic interests and militarized police and security policies.

Ellen Finlay holds a Bachelor of Arts, Double Major Politics and Sociology with First Class Honours in International Relations and is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame Australia, Sydney campus. Ellen is currently undertaking her Masters in IR (by coursework and research) at the University of Sydney. Studying part-time, Ellen is employed as a sessional tutor at the University of Notre Dame in undergraduate Arts and Social Sciences subjects. Ellen's interests are in feminism, social justice and critical theories in IR. This is Ellen's first submission and presentation at an academic conference.

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Women's empowerment through resistance in post-authoritarian Indonesia

Sri Wiyanti Eddyono (Monash University)

This paper examines State's policies and government's attitudes for women's empowerment in urban poor communities in post-authoritarian Indonesia. Globally, women's empowerment remains a contested concept among feminist scholars, and these tensions are also evident in women empowerment discourses and

implementation in Indonesia. In 1998, Indonesia began a new democratic era, during which the Indonesian government made an official commitment to support women's empowerment. Yet, house evictions became a persistent threat for women living in informal settlements (i.e. 'slums'). Based on focus groups, interviews and community engagement with poor women on resisting eviction in the Kampung Rawa informal settlement in Jakarta, the government's commitment towards women's empowerment did not benefit poor women living in informal settlements. This paper concludes by arguing that government programs for women's empowerment did not demonstrate an inclusive definition of women's empowerment by ignoring women's housing rights.

Sri Wiyanti (Iyik) is a PhD candidate at the School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Monash University in Victoria, Australia. Her research is women's empowerment in an urban poor community in Jakarta-Indonesia. She is a feminist lawyer, researcher and legal reform activist that has worked with NGOs since 1994. She coordinates Indonesia team research project of SCN CREST on "When and Why do States Respond to Women's Claims: Understanding Gender-Egalitarian Policy Change in Asia", under UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) 2013-2015. She was a commissioner in Indonesia National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) period 2007-2009 and worked at women legal aid of LBH APIK Jakarta.
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Gender and Precarity in Subaltern Struggles in India

Manisha Desai (University of Connecticut)

In her virtual roundtable with Laurent Berlant, Judith Butler, Bojana Cvejic, Isabel Lorey, and Ana Vujanovic, Jasbir Paur (2012) discusses precarity in the Western European context. The focus of the roundtable was on understanding what precarity as a concept enables intellectually and politically in different institutional, governmental, interdisciplinary, and bodily contexts. Drawing upon this roundtable, I ask what precarity as a concept enables in the politics of subaltern struggles in India. Based on nine months of ethnographic field research on three subaltern struggles against neoliberal development in Gujarat, India I analyze how precarity illuminates the growing subaltern struggles against development in India, how it meshes with the struggles own understandings of their struggles, and whether it enables us to address among other issues, the persistent gendered geography of the struggles.

Manisha Desai is Associate Professor of Sociology and Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Connecticut, USA. Her research areas include gender and globalization, transnational feminisms, and contemporary Indian society. She has a forthcoming book from Routledge titled: *Subaltern Movements in India: The Gendered Geographies of Struggle*. She is the 2015 Distinguished Feminist Lecturer of Sociologist for Women in Society, USA.

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Panel Three: Participation and the Nation

Chair: Nicole George (University of Queensland)

Nicole George is a Senior Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies and Australian Research Council DECRA Award Fellow (2013-2016) in the School of Politics and International Studies at the University of Queensland. Nicole's research projects are currently focused on the politics of gender, security and peacebuilding in the Pacific Islands. She is the author of *Situating Women: Gender Politics and Circumstance in Fiji* (ANU Press) and of scholarly articles appearing in the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *The Contemporary Pacific*, *Australian Feminist Law Review* and *Oceania*.

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Women candidates in the 2014 Solomon Island Elections - Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways

Kerryn Baker and **Priya Chattier** (Australian National University)

Solomon Islands has a history of low women's representation in politics. Since independence in 1978, only three women have been elected to Parliament. In the 2014 general election, 26 women ran as candidates, and one woman was elected. This paper is a study of women candidates in the 2014 election. It examines different campaign strategies employed by successful, near-successful and unsuccessful women candidates, specifically how they carried out campaign preparation, the types of campaign activities they engaged in, and the campaign messaging they employed. It also looks at how women were perceived by themselves and others as different from male candidates. Drawing on data from the Solomon Islands Domestic Election Observation project, interviews with women candidates contesting the election, and in-depth participant observation of candidates,

this paper asks what the results of the 2014 election can tell us about the prospects for women candidates in future elections, in Solomon Islands and elsewhere in the Pacific Islands region.

Kerryn Baker is a Research Fellow in Pacific Politics with the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program at the Australian National University. Her main research interests are electoral politics and electoral reform in Melanesia and the broader Pacific Islands region, with a particular focus on women's political representation.

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Gender Norms, Motherhood as "Sacred Duty" and National Identity in Turkey

Julia Richardson (Deakin University)

In recent years there has been a distinct process of re-visioning of Turkish national identity that has been framed in highly normative gendered terms. This is exemplified by President Erdoğan's insistence on gender roles as complimentary and not equal, emphasis of motherhood as a "sacred duty" and the family as the foundation of the nation. This narrative has had direct social, policy and security implications, especially for women and the LGBT community, as tensions between national and individual identities become more acute. Drawing on interviews conducted in Turkey in May-June 2014 and reportage of the simmering Gezi Park protest movement, this paper explores the increasing sense of insecurity created by the security dilemma of silences, exclusion and loss of agency that is faced by those who do not conform to the prescribed heteronormative gender roles promoted by the state. Central to Turkish national identity, and recent reinterpretations of it, is the narrative of motherhood and the sacrificial mother, such restrictive conceptualisations require critical evaluation as they both limit the way women are represented and the ways in which they are able to interact with the state. The analysis reveals how these dynamics not only impact on individual (in)security but also have wider systemic effects as the discursive spaces in which gender norms can be contested are circumscribed and policed, and both state and societal insecurity are exacerbated as competing and apparently irreconcilable normative agendas clash.

Julia Richardson is a PhD student at Deakin University (Melbourne), working on norms of gender and security in narratives of national identity in Turkey. She has finished her fieldwork and is in the process of writing up her thesis. She spent eight years living in the South East of Turkey and has recently returned to complete her PhD.

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Women Leading the Battle against Ebola: Case Studies in Courage, Creativity, Care, and Community Champions

Roxane Richter (University of Johannesburg)

The contemporary clashes of biosocial realities, gender inequities, and structural violence are both manifest and momentous in this current Ebola epidemic. While the Ebola epidemic continues to cut a swathe of human suffering through West Africa – local women have empowered and employed their powerful resilience, social influence, and indomitable caregiver skills to help their community heal and eradicate the deadly virus. One such community champion is 22-year-old Fatu Kekula, a Liberian nursing student, who resisted fear, risked her own life, and personally nursed her family to health by constructing makeshift protective gear from garbage bags, a raincoat and rubber boots for herself. International aid workers have taught Fatu's "trash bag method" to other West Africans who have no accessible hospital care or personal protective gear. Other West African female leaders of NGOs like Touching Humanity in Need of Kindness and Women of Hope International travel to rural areas to demonstrate how to prepare chlorinated water for disinfection; provide emergency food to bereaved families; and identify and place Ebola orphans with extended family. A beneficial byproduct of this pandemic for West African women is the (temporary) ban on female genital mutilation by the government of Sierra Leone, an effort to stop further Ebola transmission.

This lecture will analyze the role gender has played in the Ebola epidemic, the disproportionate claim of this disease on women, gendered high-risk exposure and transmission tasks, and outcomes in this pandemic embedded within the complex biosocial applications of clinical medicine, social theory, and feminist theory.

Roxanne Richter

As an Emergency Medical Technician, Roxane's 15 years of frontline experience in international disaster aid and emergency medical services have provided both the catalyst and forum for her to research global healthcare disparities. She holds a graduate degree in Cross-Cultural Studies from the University of Houston, and a doctorate in Political Studies (global healthcare systems and rights) from University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. Her research has appeared in: *International Journal of Mass Emergencies & Disasters*, *American*

Journal of Disaster Medicine, Journal of Emergency Medical Services, Foreign Service Journal, and more. Her book chapter "Disparity in Disasters: A Frontline View of Gender-Based Inequities in Emergency Aid and Healthcare" appears in *Anthropology at the Front Lines of Gender-Based Violence*.
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Panel Four: Norm Entrepreneurship and Institutional Change

Chair: Ann Tickner (American University)
For *Ann Tickner's bio*, please refer to Panel One

"A 'shift in attitude'?: Institutional Change and Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia"

Emma Palmer and Sarah Williams (University of New South Wales)

The Security Council's women, peace and security initiative expounds norms favouring the prosecution of sexual violence in conflict, particularly against women and girls. International criminal tribunals, including the International Criminal Court, have taken up this challenge with varying degrees of success. Despite these developments, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) has secured only one conviction for the widespread perpetration of gender-based crimes during the Khmer Rouge regime. Until recently, this tribunal exemplified the silences of international criminal law and the failure of an internationalised model to influence national prosecutions of gender-based crimes. However, recent events suggest there has been a 'shift in attitude' at the ECCC toward investigating and prosecuting gender-based crimes. Drawing upon feminist institutionalist theories and interviews, this paper considers how various actors were able to overcome the ECCC's prohibitive mandate and 'nested' informal practices to further the prosecution of gender-based crimes. This analysis has implications for other international(ised) and national tribunals, which may face similar challenges in prosecuting gender-based crimes. We argue that if greater attention is being directed toward Khmer Rouge era gender-based violence, this has not arisen from the ECCC's formal mandate. Instead, the changes have been driven by various individuals working with 'old rules' and building upon the work of researchers, civil society, civil parties and their lawyers. The paper stresses the importance of gender-sensitive rules, practices and appointments and the need to harness existing instruments, such as CEDAW and the women, peace and security resolutions, as valuable tools to prompt institutional change.

Emma Palmer is a PhD candidate at UNSW researching international criminal law mechanisms in Southeast Asia. She is currently a Research Assistant for two Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Projects within the Faculty of Law at UNSW. Emma completed a Masters in Law, specialising in international law, in 2011, having previously received Bachelor degrees in Law and Commerce. Before commencing post-graduate studies, Emma worked for four years as a senior investment analyst at Macquarie Bank (2006-2011). Emma is admitted as a Solicitor and Barrister in New South Wales and is a Director on the Board of Women's Legal Services NSW.
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Sarah Williams is an Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales. She was the Dorset Fellow in Public International Law at the British Institute of International and Comparative Law (from 2008 - 2010), a Senior Legal Researcher at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (from 2006 - 2007) and a Lecturer at Durham Law School, University of Durham (from 2003 - 2008). Sarah has also practised as a commercial solicitor in London and Sydney. Sarah has acted as a consultant to the European Commission, the British Red Cross, the International Federation of the Red Cross and the British Institute of International and Comparative Law. Her main research areas include international law, in particular international criminal law, international humanitarian law, international disaster law, and the law on the use of force. Sarah's book, on Hybrid and Internationalized Criminal Tribunals, was published in 2012.
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Wilberforce for the 21st Century? William Hague, Norm Entrepreneurship and the Prevention of Sexual Violence (in Conflict) Initiative

Sara Davies (Queensland University of Technology) and **Jacqui True** (Monash University)

Norm entrepreneurs are distinct from other policy actors because they not only propose solutions to significant societal problems, they challenge existing understandings of that problem and seek to bring about social, often moral, change. In this paper we moot that former British Foreign Secretary William Hague has demonstrated many of the attributes of norm and/or policy entrepreneurship as theorised by political science and international

relations scholars. He has not merely advocated for the prevention of the use of sexual violence in conflict and war, he has framed the nature of the problem, its myriad social, political and economic causes, and persuaded political leaders and mobilised a broader global public to support a transnational campaign to end this form of violence. Hague himself identifies as a latter day entrepreneur in the shadow of William Wilberforce (the subject of a biography authored by Hague). “Just as it fell to our forebears to eradicate the slave trade”, he has stated “tackling rape in warzones is a challenge for our generation.” Observing Hague’s “norm entrepreneurship” has made us curious about why and how do norm entrepreneurs become attached to particular causes – which leads to the emergence of new norms? Through the Hague case we seek to address this key question about agenda-setting. We also trace the effectiveness of an international norm entrepreneur through the three stages of the norm life cycles: emergence, cascade and internalisation. Interrogating the Hague case we ask what distinct roles does the norm entrepreneur play in the dynamic evolution and contestation of a norm as it moves from early adoption to broader consensus among states and partial internalisation by state and non-state actors? We aim to highlight the crucial role of the norm entrepreneur in driving international norm diffusion in ways that are both familiar and new to international relations theorising.

For Jacqui True’s bio, please refer to Panel One

Sara Davies is an Australian Research Council (ARC) Future Fellow and QUT Vice-Chancellor Research Fellow at the Australian Centre for Health Law Research, Faculty of Law. Sara is also Program Director of the Prevention of Mass Atrocities Program in the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland. Sara is also co-founder and co-editor of quarterly issued journal *Global Responsibility to Protect*.
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‘Gender’ in the UN: From radical underpinnings to current depoliticised understandings in peacekeeping training

Lisa Carson (University of Melbourne)

This research documents and analyses an element of progress that has been made in the fifteen years since the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). A significant development has been the institutionalisation of Gender Training in UN peacekeeping. This research undertakes a critical feminist analysis of how Gender Training is conducted by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) based on confidential interviews with staff working at the United Nations Headquarters as well as Senior Gender Advisers and Gender Focal Points working in various peacekeeping contexts. More specifically, this part of the research draws on a subset of questions that interviewees were asked to reflect on. These questions revolved around identifying the achievements and main strengths, as well as weaknesses and future improvements in the area of Gender Training and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 more broadly.

Lisa Carson is a PhD candidate in the School of Social & Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne. Her previous research has been published in *The Australian Feminist Law Journal*. She is currently writing a PhD thesis on Gender Training of peacekeepers in the context of UNSCR 1325. Her research is based on extensive fieldwork and confidential interviewing of staff at the UN and in numerous peacekeeping contexts. Lisa has a Masters of International Relations from The University of Melbourne, First Class Honours from RMIT and a Bachelor of Arts from The University of Melbourne.

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Panel Five: Women Peace Builders/ Spoilers

Chair: Susan Harris-Rimmer (Australian National University)

Susan Harris-Rimmer is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy at the Australian National University. She is also a Research Associate at the Development Policy Centre in the Crawford School. Susan was selected as an expert for the official Australian delegation to the 58th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in New York in March 2014. She has provided policy advice on the UNSC, G20, IORA and MIKTA.

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Gender, Conflict and State building in Kachin State, Myanmar

Jenny Hedström (Monash University)

Based on primary interviews conducted with women involved in Kachin armed resistance and in Kachin women's peace networks, this article will explore the many roles women hold in the armed conflict in Myanmar, highlighting how identities related to ethnicity, religion, gender and class influence participation in the armed struggle and inform women's actions.

This paper will show how in Kachin state, religious and ethnic minority women's reasons for enlisting in ethno-political organizations include experiences of oppression, dearth of social services and poverty, gender-based violence, and nationalism. In other words, the women's participation in the armed struggle is motivated largely by political and ideological purposes closely related to their identities as ethnic and religious minority women. Interestingly, this also seems to inform the motivations for women joining the peace movement, advocating for the inclusion of women in public deliberations on the conflict and for an end to the war.

Jenny Hedström is currently undertaking her PhD at Monash University, looking at gender and conflict in Kachin State, Burma/Myanmar. She has previously worked in the international development sector, and with grassroots activists and Burmese women's rights organizations in Thailand and Burma/Myanmar. Her latest article is Hedström, J (2015) 'We Did Not Realize about the Gender Issues. So, We Thought It Was a Good Idea: Gender roles in Burmese oppositional struggles,' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

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Women and the Mindanao Conflict, the Philippines

Nyla Grace Prieto (International IDEA)

This article will explore the various roles women hold in the conflict-affected area of Mindanao, highlighting how contextual factors such as religion, culture, affiliation, and politics inform and structure their opportunities and challenges and their wider engagement in the on-going peace building and post-security situation, and the implication of this on gender policies. The Philippines has often ranked high when it comes to gender equality and empowerment including women's access and role in politics and governance. A country that had two women presidents since 1986 is perhaps a testament to this phenomenon. However, women in conflict situations are another story, as demonstrated by the decades-long armed conflict in Muslim Mindanao.

Another peace agreement to establish Bangsamoro as a new political entity is in the works, but what roles will women play in this process and how are gender issues addressed in the transition?

Nyla Grace Prieto is Programme Officer at the Asia and the Pacific Office of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), an inter-governmental organisation that supports sustainable democracy worldwide. She leads the programme's work in citizen-led democracy assessments, a methodology that IDEA has developed that allows citizens self-reflect on the status of their own democratic institutions, and processes. Citizen-led assessments in national and local democracies have so far been utilized in 20 countries including the Philippines, Indonesia, and Mongolia in the region. Nyla has been in development field for the past 15 years, starting with NGO work in the Philippines, with special interest in education, and community-building. She then joined ASEAN Foundation in Jakarta, a regional, inter-governmental organisation of 10 Southeast Asian countries. Nyla has a BS degree in development communications from the University of the Philippines Los Baños, and later pursued an executive programme in corporate communications.

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Gendering the Maoist Conflict in India: Women's Bodies and the Continuum of Violence

Swati Parashar (Monash University)

Through the gender lens that sees violence perpetrated by women (Indian Maoist combatants in this case) as a continuum of structural violence they experience, this paper will explore how women's inclusion within Left Wing Resistance Movements that project a progressive gender politics, informs the negotiated gender position women attain within the organization. It is estimated that most women Maoist cadres in India are drawn from Dalits (untouchables) and Adivasis (indigenous tribals), who are marginalised within the Indian class and social structure. This research attempts to establish whether the marginalised positions of the Maoist women, prior to them joining the armed resistance, work as a constraint in the ability of women to negotiate within the movement and participate in official or backchannel peace talks. The study further explores how gendered perceptions in this conflict are sustained by a meticulous propaganda about 'threats' that justify military actions by the insurgents and the State and how that perpetuates a continuum of violence against women.

For **Swati Parashar's** bio, please refer to Panel One

Chair: Annie Pohlman (University of Queensland)

Annie Pohlman is a Lecturer in Indonesian studies in the School of Languages and Cultures at The University of Queensland. She is author of *Women, Sexual Violence, and the Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966* (2015), and co-editor of *Genocide and Mass Atrocities in Asia: Legacies and Prevention* (2013). Her research interests include Indonesian history, comparative genocide studies, gendered experiences of violence, torture, testimony and trauma narratives.

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Bodies in War: Narratives on Women in Nationalist Resistance in Sri Lanka and Ireland

Shamara Ransirini (University of Queensland)

Women participate in political conflicts in multiple ways, including but not limited to, soldiers, militants, and suicide bombers. This paper engages with cultural/literary representations of women involved in political violence in two seemingly different settings: Sri Lanka and Ireland. I contend that even as militant nationalisms reinstate women as nationalist agents in the public arena of political resistance, their material, gendered bodies are often invisibilised, naturalised or overlooked. My paper takes a corporeal approach to explore literary narratives on women suicide bombers and militants, which complicates militant nationalisms' mobilisation of women's embodied political agency in nationalist conflicts. I argue that such an engagement with women's lived, material, and bodily experiences of political agency in cultural texts from Sri Lanka and Ireland signal to the limits of dominant militant nationalisms' complex, and often vexed associations with the female body, sexuality and desire, while ultimately gesturing to, concerns about how such tensions would be mapped out, and negotiated with, in post-war situations.

Shamara Ransirini is currently a PhD candidate at the School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland, and is a lecturer at the University of Sri Jayewardenepura (USJP), Sri Lanka. Her thesis explores the literary/cultural representations of women engaged in anti-state resistance across a multiple range of settings: Sri Lanka, Ireland, Germany, South Africa, and United States. She has published articles previously on Sri Lankan and Postcolonial women's writing.

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"If it bleeds it leads - unless it's menstrual": The role of international media support in perpetuating gender inequality in aftermath environments

Jacky Sutton (Australian National University)

Protecting women's rights as a fundamental prerequisite of "advancing freedom and democracy" was a key motif in Western public diplomacy campaigns in the run up to regime change in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003. So too was ensuring the right to freedom of expression, as articulated in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However the window of opportunity for the institutionalisation of those rights that opened with the fall of brutal, corrupt and misogynistic regimes began closing soon after initial military goals were met. Women's rights and media freedoms were compromised in the Western-led process of finding malleable governments in Baghdad and Kabul to further US aims to secure uninterrupted oil supplies or strategic bases and limit the influence of Iran. My paper explores the relationship between women's rights and media freedoms in what Meintjes et al (2001) define as "aftermath" environments of Afghanistan and Iraq. In particular it explores how the neo-liberal interpretation of Article 19 rights by media development projects and the importation of Western news paradigms, which are based on Orientalism dichotomies such as "Shia/Sunni", "male/female", "friend/enemy" helped to perpetuate stereotypes and marginalise women, undermining their leadership at a time when it was most needed.

Jacky Sutton is a research scholar at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Australian National University. Her thesis topic is the impact of international law and transnational feminism on women's agency in Iraq and Afghanistan, particularly in the media. Jacky has spent the last two decades working for the United Nations and international NGOs in conflict-affected countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, primarily on election, internet law and freedom of expression. **jackysutton@gmail.com**

Social Media/ 'Girlhood': Hashtagging Girlhood: #IAmMalala, #BringBackOurGirls, and Engaging Global Politics Through Gendered Representations

Helen Berents (Queensland University of Technology)

In recent years the rise of social media activism has seen users engage with global political events by posting messages of support using hashtags. While there is recognition that ‘grassroots’ support can raise awareness of otherwise overlooked events or bring resources to address a problem, many activists, policy makers, and practitioners are cautious of the benefits of such (s)ac(k)tivism (Lindgreen 2013; Taub 2012). This paper is interested in such hashtags that specifically invoke a concept of ‘girlhood’ in their responses to global crisis or tragedy; and further, how these are picked up by mainstream media coverage of events. Through this exploration, I argue that particular, universalized ideas of ‘girlhood’ are coded within these stories and that these girls’ experiences are appropriated and used by others.

In doing this, I critique the limited representations of girlhood that circulates in this discussion. In particular I focus on two hashtags: #IAMMalala, started in response to the shooting of Pakistani education activist Malala Yousafzai in 2012; and #BringBackOurGirls, started by Nigerians and picked up globally in response to the kidnapping of 273 schoolgirls by terrorist group Boko Haram. In both instances understandings of the broader political context are shaped by the focus on girls, which reproduces an understanding of young girls as essentialised victims. Both hashtags also appropriate an experience: claiming to be Malala and claiming the Nigerian girls as ours. Through these examples, I argue that gendered, racial, and youth-ed concepts of girlhood shape the way conflict, violence, and the lived experiences of girls in these environments is understood globally.

Helen Berents (PhD, University of Queensland) is a lecturer in the School of Justice at the Queensland University of Technology. Her research engages with violence-affected young people and their strategies for everyday peacebuilding. More broadly, she explores questions of peace and protracted conflicts, theories of security in a Latin American context, the global politics of childhood and youthhood, and feminist discourses of marginalization.

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Panel Seven: Women, Peace and Security Agenda in ASEAN

Chair: Sara Davies (Queensland University of Technology)

Framing Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in the ASEAN: Mapping Regional Initiatives and Exploring Institutional Mechanisms on Protecting Women from Gender-based Mass Atrocities

Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza (Ateneo de Manila University)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is moving towards substantiating commitments to international standards by its Member States. For example, all ten members are State Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and four of them are signatories to its Optional Protocol. Being State Parties, these countries are obligated to comply to CEDAW through legislations and establishment of relevant implementing institutions. In theory, such is the political project to ‘domesticate’ international norms. In addition, there are supplementary mechanisms such as General Recommendations (GRs) advanced by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee) to direct State Parties to pay attention to specific women’s human rights issues. CEDAW Committee General Recommendation GR 30 On Women in Conflict Prevention, Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations declared that “protecting women’s human rights at all times, advancing substantive gender equality before, during and after conflict and ensuring that women’s diverse experiences are fully integrated into all peacebuilding, peacemaking, and reconstruction processes are important objectives of the Convention.” This paper will explore the spaces and opportunities potentially offered by CEDAW General Recommendation 30 to ‘domesticate’ WPS within the ASEAN and its Member States and will offer initial conceptions on how this can be harmonized with the discourse and practice of United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) 1325 and 1820 in the SEA Region

Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza is a feminist political scientist whose research interests and personal advocacy are in the areas of women in politics, women’s human rights in armed conflict situations, transnational women’s movements, international norms against wartime rape and sexual violence, and women’s politics at the margins and everyday lives. ‘Vene,’ as she is more commonly known, is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science at the Ateneo de Manila University teaching subjects on Gender and Women’s Human Rights, The Politics of Everyday Life, Women’s Movements and Women’s Human Rights, Issues and Problems in International Law (focusing on international humanitarian law and international human rights law),

Reconstructing World Politics through International Norms, and Women and Politics in Asia. She is also a mainstay lecturer for the Ateneo-United Nations University of Peace, Costa Rica (UPEACE).

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ACWC's Review Mechanism: the Opportunity to Integrate Responsibility to Protect Women and Children in ASEAN

Yuyun Wahyuningrum and **Sarah Teitt** (University of Queensland)

In 2013, ASEAN member states adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and Violence Against Children (DEVAWVAC) in ASEAN. Therein, member states mandated relevant ASEAN bodies, particularly the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC), to promote the implementation of the Declaration and review its progress. The next step for the ACWC is to develop a Review Mechanism as per this mandate. In 2015, the ACWC is undergoing a review process of its Terms of Reference, and developing its next five-year Work Plan (2016-2020). This review process provides an important opportunity for making progress on the establishment of a Review Mechanism for the DEVAWVAC. The Review Mechanism may include parameters for monitoring, evaluating and reporting the implementation of DEVAWVAC by ASEAN member states. The development of a Review Mechanism within the ACWC review process therefore represents an important avenue for strengthening the capacity of the ACWC to be a credible human rights mechanism that is specialized in the promotion and protection of the rights of women and children in ASEAN. Because conflict and humanitarian emergencies in the region exacerbate violence against women, it is crucial to ensure that the review process includes parameters to ensure women's peace and security during conflict and humanitarian emergencies. To this end, this article highlights opportunities and challenges for the ACWC to integrate Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Women, Peace and Security (WPS) parameters into its review process and in the DEVAWVAC Review Mechanism.

Yuyun Wahyuningrum works as Senior Advisor on ASEAN and Human Rights at Human Rights Working Group (HRWG) from 2010 and Advisor to ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) on October 2014 onwards. She is also the Indonesia's Coordinator for Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect since September 2014. She has more than seventeen years working on various human rights issues in NGOs in Indonesia and Southeast Asia with different roles, including helping Indonesian Government to draft and adopt the National Plan of Action on the Elimination of Trafficking in Women and Children (2002). In the last eight years, she has been professionally advocating and campaigning for ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children as well as the ASEAN Committee on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers (ACMW) to be accountable, independent and responsive human rights mechanisms.

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Sarah Teitt is Deputy Director and Researcher at the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. She is a researcher on the Centre's program on the prevention of widespread and systematic sexual and gender based violence, as well as the program on R2P regional diplomacy and capacity building. Sarah was a founding member of the Centre's management team in 2008, and from 2009-mid 2012 served as the Centre's Outreach Director.

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Situating gender in ASEAN's journey to human rights: De-politicisation, institutionalisation and the Women, Peace and Security agenda

Mathew Davies (Australian National University)

Today's ASEAN maintains a division between human rights, situated within the Political-Security Community and commitments to Women located in the Socio-Cultural Community. This division, rooted in traditionalist assumptions about political agency, can be dated to at least the 1970s and ASEAN's first moves to 'bring women in' to the process, to use Alice Ba's term, of developing national and regional resilience. I argue that this instrumentalist and depoliticised vision of gender continues to shape ASEAN's approach to understanding and responding to Women, Peace and Security (WPS) issues. Applying discursive institutionalism to the reform of regional organizations I highlight the patterns of continuity and change in ASEAN's engagement with the WPS agenda and further argue that these patterns suggest particular strategies for advancing WPS issues, as well as other human rights concerns, within the ASEAN framework.

Mathew Davies is a Fellow in the Department of International Relations, Coral Bell School at the Australian National University. His research focuses on investigating the impact of human rights norms in Southeast Asia,

paying particular attention to the relationship between rights and order building in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Mathew is using this research to develop new understandings of the intersection of sovereignty and human rights as well as ASEAN's role in the broader strategic architecture of the Asia-Pacific.
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Could ASEAN's new gender & peace architecture make a difference to the rights of Burmese women in transition?

Susan G. Harris-Rimmer (Australian National University)

In 2015, the diverse women of Myanmar will be living through a time of political transition and historic national elections. How profound such a transition really is, and who benefits from the transition, is yet to be seen. At the same time Myanmar has just finished a term as President of ASEAN. This paper examines ASEAN's human rights role, and in particular the roles of the ASEAN Institute for Peace and Reconciliation (AIPR) and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children, and whether they offer any opportunities to promote and protect the rights of women in Myanmar during the current transitional period. Building on the work of Mathew Davies and the 'socialisation of rights', I argue there is some room for positive impact from these bodies, using quiet diplomacy.

For Susan Harris Rimmer's bio, please refer to Panel Five

Panel Eight: Theorising Gender, Violence and Security in international politics

Chair: Catherine Jean (International Journal of Feminist Politics)

Cultural Norms and Violence Against Women: Towards an "Empathetic Critique"

Swati Parashar (Monash University) and **David Duriesmith** (University of Melbourne)

Cultural constructions of female bodies that normalise violence against women and girls are under-researched and understudied within international relations. Culture is shaped by the derivative of experiences, which individuals learn from historical and contemporary images and it is neither static nor completely individualistic. As such, a degree of informed generalisation is required to engage with the concept of large cultural groupings that have their own gender norms around the rights of women. Despite the necessity of cultural critique in challenging women's oppression there is a certain anxiety about understanding and acknowledging cultural norms as sources of violence. This anxiety is partly based on a post colonial commitment to diversity and difference that has been emphasised in modern feminist discourse, but most importantly it thrives on the notion that transnational feminist networks are incapable of developing strategies and vocabularies that offer an "empathetic critique" of cultures. Drawing on standpoint epistemology, and critiques of academic feminism there has been a collective reticence to critically explore cultures as sources of violence within feminist international relations scholarship. This paper will explore the methodological and epistemological issues surrounding cultural critique within feminist scholarship and provide some reflections based on researching cultural constructs. Building on feminist ethics of emancipatory research and the standpoint epistemology this paper will explore the concept of 'empathetic critique' as a basis for cultural criticism.

For Swati Parashar's bio, please refer to Panel One

David Duriesmith is a scholar of International Relations who focuses on critical security studies, intra-state conflict and Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities. He has conducted research with the United Nations multi-programme agency Partners for Prevention on masculinities in Aceh Indonesia. His work has been published in the International Feminist Journal of Politics and the Australasian Review of African Studies.

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Dialectic of Culture and Autonomy

Steve On (National Sun Yat-sen University)

Over the past twenty-plus years, since the achievement of the Vienna Declaration in 1993, some tensions have emerged in the global movement to promote women's rights as human rights, which has rallied around the focal point of eradicating violence-against-women. This paper examines the tension between de-essentializing culture and ratcheting up the pre-requisite conditions of autonomy, and argues that a third concept synthesizing these elements seems likely. Call this movement dialectic of culture and autonomy. But as I argue while a grand

synthesis may be developed in the long term, from short to medium terms the task is to clarify the stakes involved in this dialectic. I suggest that at stake are the theoretical underpinnings of the embedded and coercive solutions to violence-against-women. By making this intervention, I further the existing approach of comprehensive and systematic solutions.

Steve On is Assistant Professor of Political Science at National Sun Yat-Sen University (NSYSU), Kao-hsiung, Taiwan. Before his August 2011 appointment by the Institute of Political Science at NSYSU, he earned his Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles, where his dissertation was supervised by Carole Pateman. An American expat living and working in Taiwan, his research interests include women's rights as human rights, feminism, multiculturalism, and ethnocentrism. On's current projects include a reconsideration of the Man-chu misrule in nineteenth century China, which is part of the multi-year, multi-scholar project spearheaded by Stanford University within the framework of Chinese Railroad Worker Project.
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"We must peak for them": Constructing human trafficking in Australia

Naomi Atkins (Australian National University)

On International Women's Day in 2013, then Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced amendments to Australia's anti-people trafficking provisions that sought to more adequately address this complex issue. These included a broadening of the legislative focus beyond female sex trafficking into Australia that, this paper argues, has proved central to the nation's anti-trafficking discourse since the 1990s. Notably, the amendments include offences of forced labour, forced marriage and organ trafficking as crimes separate from the trafficking process. The offence of "sexual servitude" was also amended to "servitude" to include exploitative practices in the sexual, non-sexual, commercial, and private spheres. These amendments suggest Australia's anti-trafficking discourse may no longer be framed by a traditional statist security discourse. That is, contextual anxieties about the 'Other' and women's agency as threats to Australian sovereignty and national identity; narratives that narrowly dichotomised the trafficked person as 'victim' or 'deviant.' This paper explores to what extent these narratives and anxieties have subsided with these legislative changes. This involves investigation into how Australian trafficking discourse and practice became possible and evolved from the 1990s, as well as analysis of recent interviews, observation and surveys with anti-trafficking practitioners, and surveys with the Australian public. In doing so, this paper contributes to our understanding of the constructed nature of trafficking knowledge and security, and provides insight into the ways in which more emancipatory approaches to trafficking may emerge or be constrained.

Naomi Atkins is a PhD candidate at the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU. Her research explores the construction of human trafficking knowledge and security discourses, and their role in producing anti-human trafficking practice and the security or insecurity of its recipients. Anti-trafficking in Australia, Malaysia, and Vietnam constitute the case studies for this research that combines extensive documental analysis with interviews, observation, and surveys conducted throughout 2013 and 2014. Alongside research in Australia, Naomi spent eight months conducting this fieldwork in Southeast Asia after receiving the Endeavour Australia Cheung Kong Research Fellowship Award.

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Panel Nine: Inside/outside: grounded methodologies in the study of feminist international politics

Chair: **Laura Shepherd**

For Laura Shepherd's bio, please refer to Panel One

'It's Complicated!' The Insider-Outsider Dynamics of Conducting Fieldwork in Post-Conflict Liberia

Michelle Dunn (University of Queensland)

Being aware of the insider-outsider dynamic when conducting fieldwork is an essential element of a feminist research ethic. While conducting fieldwork provides the researcher with the opportunity to engage face to face with the subjects of their research, it also poses a challenge in terms of the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched. While being aware of the challenges that this dynamic can pose may assist the researcher more fully prepare for fieldwork, it is not until you are on the ground that the impact that this dynamic can have on the research becomes real. The dynamic of insider-outsider relations is very much informed by the context and environment of those relations and therefore it can be difficult to foresee all the challenges that may arise. For example, the post-conflict landscape can complicate the dynamic in unpredictable ways, as I found when I conducted fieldwork in Liberia in 2014. The insider-outsider dynamic in Liberia meant addressing a complex web of multiple shifting insider-outsider relationships. I found myself part of an insider-outsider dynamic consisting of 'communities of insiders' and 'communities of outsiders' which shifted depending on the context of the interaction and also shifted as relationships within and between these communities I was involved in developed over time. As I became part of the dynamic landscape of insider-outsider relations in post-conflict Liberia, I found myself re-assessing and re-evaluating my understanding of who was an insider and who was an outsider and what this new understanding meant in terms of my research.

Michelle Dunn is in her final stages of completing her PhD on the role that gender plays in the outcomes possible from implementing the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda in post-conflict contexts. Her research is based on fieldwork conducted in Liberia in March/April 2014. Michelle is particularly interested in local approaches to peace and security which reflect the importance of bottom up, grassroots advocacy and the diversity of 'everyday' life.

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They trust me or they trust me not? Dilemmas of an insider doing research on property rights of women in patriarchal Pakistani Muslim society

Humaira Shafi (University of Queensland)

Feminist ethnography is an important research tool to disclose how gender operates within different societies. Conducting research from an "insider" perspective can both be advantageous and disadvantageous for a feminist. I investigated the gendered nature of property rights in patriarchal Pakistani society. It is common in Pakistani society for a woman to renounce her share of inherited property in favour of her male family members. My aim was to understand the nature of women's subjugation in the society and how it influences their decisions regarding property. I observed that the standard research procedure (providing research information, obtaining consent and recording interviews) did not inspire confidence in many of my subjects - instead, it made them suspicious of my intentions. To gain their confidence I developed different strategies for example during interviews I demonstrated I was indigenous to the culture through apparel and language, and by adhering to accepted social practices such as travelling with a male escort. In addition, at times I shared my own experience during the interview process. I found that these two strategies improved the candour of the participants and resulted in improved interview outcomes.

My research experience has taught me that as an insider, I can have certain benefits from the understanding of social and cultural norms but the success of my research depends on two important factors: the acceptance of my role as a researcher by the community, and the level of confidence I can inspire in my research participants to speak the truth.

Humaira Shafi is a practicing lawyer in Pakistan. She completed her Masters in Peace and Conflict studies from University of Queensland (UQ) in 2011. She joined UQ again in 2013 to start her PhD. Humaira is an avid supporter of women's rights and is doing her PhD on Muslim women's property rights in Pakistan.

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"Qu'attendez-vous de moi, madame?" Building "insider/ outsider" collaboration when researching gender violence in the Pacific Islands.

Nicole George (University of Queensland)

In this paper I reflect critically upon the "insider / outsider" dynamic that we often construct for ourselves as feminist researchers working with communities that are not our own. We may routinely represent the outside researcher as the empowered actor in the research process, with the capacity to frame and represent the submissive insider. My own experience conducting feminist research in the Pacific Islands has taught me that

women informants from inside the communities I work with also have agency as research informants, gatekeepers and collaborators. They exhibit a capacity to critique, resist or subvert research ambitions and sometimes to “test” those who wish to initiate research projects within their communities. While these types of challenges may make for “uncomfortable” moments, they are undoubtedly vital to the process of productive collaboration between the researcher and the researched and have many times, prompted me to critically reconsider the design of my proposed research. But we also need to recognise that our research objectives will never be universally embraced by those we would like to work with, and that does not necessarily mean the efforts of the outsider bear a hallmark of inauthenticity. I have learnt that the “insider” scholar looking to research her own community is frequently also subject to such challenges. For all these reasons, I conclude a) that the insider/outsider research dynamic is perhaps more mutable than it first appears and b) there is sometimes considerable value in conducting research as an outsider.

For Nicole George's bio, please refer to Panel Three

Evening Keynote and Reception Thursday 18 June 1730-1930

Chair: Professor Alex Bellamy (University of Queensland)

Alex Bellamy is Director of the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect and Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at The University of Queensland, Australia. He is also Non-Resident Senior Adviser at the International Peace Institute, New York and Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. In 2008-9 he served as co-chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Study Group on the Responsibility to Protect and he currently serves as Secretary of the High Level Advisory Panel on the Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia.

Speaker: Gaynel Curry (Gender Advisor: United Nations High Commission for Human Rights)
Please see page 4 for Ms Curry's Bio

Panel Ten: Women, Peace and Security: Translation, Implementation and Challenges of UNSCR 1325

Chair: **Jacqui True** (Monash University)

For Jacqui True's bio, please refer to Panel One (page 11)

Counting the Cost: The impact of the Single NonTransferable Vote on Women in Afghanistan Author(s) and institutional affiliation

Jacky Sutton (Australian National University)

The last three electoral cycles in Afghanistan have used the Single Non-Transferable Vote, a system that allows for multiple candidates and limits the power of political parties. It was ostensibly introduced in 2004 for the country's first internationally-supervised elections to offset the power and the memory of the communist and mujahedeen parties whose internecine fighting in the 1990s had reduced much of Kabul to rubble and precipitated one of the largest refugee flows in history. In the last few years the legal protections for women's rights that were introduced in the 2004 Constitution and in domestic legislation aimed at implementing the provisions of CEDAW (which Afghanistan ratified without reservations in 2003) have come under attack from conservative, tribal factions. Although there is a 27 percent quota for women parliamentarians the impact of SNTV has been to isolate women and set them against each other. This, compounded with the intensely local and patriarchal nature of politics in Afghanistan has resulted in women voting against their collective interests. After the presidential elections in 2014 there have been growing calls for electoral reform. President Ashraf Ghani and the First Lady of Afghanistan have signalled their intention to support women's rights. This paper will look at the impact of electoral laws and systems on women's rights since 2004 and assess whether Western-style democratic processes support or constrain women's participation in public political space.

For Jacky Sutton's bio, please refer to Panel Six

Paying for Peace and Gender Equality: The Context of the UN Security Council

Soumita Basu (South Asian University)

It has been suggested that SCR 1325 is a 'cost-free' resolution, i.e. it does not necessarily entail substantive commitments from member-states that support it during United Nations (UN) deliberations. Subsequent UN policies have proposed specific tools such as gender-budgeting to facilitate the implementation of the Women,

Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions. However, success has been limited because gender concerns usually appear low down on the priority list. With the aim to provide a deeper understanding of institutional factors that enable or impede the implementation of WPS resolutions at the global level, this paper seeks to investigate the political economy of the UN Security Council, specifically as it relates to the Council's WPS mandate. Employing feminist lens, the paper examines the Council's material features that directly or indirectly impact upon the formulation and implementation of gender policies. These include the use of money, including as foreign aid, for political influence at the Security Council as well as the role of sponsored independent commissions such as the ones on Human Security and Responsibility to Protect that tend to inform Council's policy deliberations. On the other hand, interests of wealthy member states that fund UN peace operations have a more direct bearing upon the inclusion of WPS agenda. The main argument is that the ideational biases of the Council (e.g. militarism, neoliberal peace) are conjoined with such material factors, and are crucial to understanding and addressing limitations in the Security Council's potential to address gender issues.

Soumita Basu is Assistant Professor of International Relations at the South Asian University, New Delhi. Her primary areas of research are feminist International Relations, the United Nations, and critical security studies. She serves as an Associate Editor of the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

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Victims of Violence and/or Agents of Change: Women (and Peace and Security) in UN Peacebuilding Discourse

Laura J. Shepherd (University of New South Wales)

In the process of implementation, UNSCR 1325 has been translated across multiple contexts. This translation has been both literal, in the production of numerous versions of the text in languages from Albanian to Zulu, and figurative, in the integration of 'Women, Peace and Security' in the discursive terrain of other UN entities such as the Peacebuilding Commission, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Political Affairs. Simultaneously, WPS discourse itself has shifted and changed over time, such that the subjects and objects constituted within it, as well as the relationship between these subjects and objects, have altered. This paper begins by mapping out the changes in WPS discourse over the past 15 years, focusing on the constructions of 'women' evident in UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions. Locating these constructions in the discursive terrain of the UN Security Council, the paper goes on to explore the ways in which 'women' are differently represented in peace and security discourse in other UN institutional contexts. Ultimately, the paper aims to draw out contestations over the construction of 'women' in UN peace and security discourse and to explore the possibilities and the limitations presented in such discourse.

For **Laura Shepherd's** bio, please refer to Panel One

Shadowing the NAP: Civil society engagement with state implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Australia

Susan Hutchinson (Australian National University) and **Katrina Lee-Koo** (Monash University)

This paper analyses civil society's role in ensuring the Australian Government remain accountable to its commitment to implement Australia's National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). Released in 2012, the Australian NAP was developed as a result of significant domestic civil society agitation and alongside community consultation. Civil society has remained committed to ensuring the Government's ongoing commitment to implementation. This occurs through a shadowing process that includes an annual dialogue between government and civil society, the development of a subsequent report, and engagement with a high-level Government committee whose role it is to ensure whole-of-government implementation of WPS. By examining these engagements, this paper questions civil society's capacity to impact Government direction and attitude towards the WPS agenda. It begins by analysing civil society's impact upon the design of the NAP, then examines its capacity to affect change in the Government's implementation of the NAP, and finally places Australia's experience into a global context by comparing the experiences of Australian civil society with other countries that have national action plans.

Katrina Lee-Koo is senior lecturer in international relations at Monash University. She has recently co-authored *Children and Global Conflict* (with Bina D'Costa and Kim Huynh, Cambridge University Press), *The Ethics of Global Security* (with Anthony Burke and Matt McDonald, Routledge) and the *Second Annual Civil Society Report Card on Australia's Implementation of the NAP on Women, Peace and Security* (with Susan Hutchinson).

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Chair: **Karin Aggestam** (Lund University)

Karin Aggestam is professor of Political Science at Lund University and honorary associate professor at POLSIS, University of Queensland, Australia. She has been director of Peace & Conflict Studies, Lund University, senior associate member at St Antony's College, Oxford University and held visiting research and teaching fellowships at universities of Queensland, Otago, Fudan, Sabanci and Jerusalem. She was recently appointed lead author for the International Panel on Social Progress.

The paradox of peacebuilding in the SADC region: case study of South Africa

Sharon Groenmeyer (University of Johannesburg)

International protocols celebrating gender equality have been adopted by the majority of countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). These international protocols are supported by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) which recommends that 50% of all parliamentarians are women. Women's representation has made a difference to parliamentary debates by forging societal reforms in many countries.

However, many of the political parties who adopted quotas have not incorporated a gender perspective on governance and this has implications for gender representation in party structures and transformation of social relations. Resolution 1325 of 2000 contains specific text regarding national implementation, encouraging women's participation in decision-making and peace processes. The military and peacebuilding forces have few women in leadership and women are in the minority in the resolution process. In post-conflict societies, using women's bodies as a weapon of war reflects the inequality within that society and lack of understanding of women's role in peacebuilding. Because patriarchy as an unjust and ordered social construction is the dominant societal value system, women continue to experience discrimination and even violence perpetrated on a gender basis. This societal and institutional practice hinders women's political and economic participation. South Africa is considered to have one of the most progressive constitutions in the world yet gender-based violence has not abated in the democratic era. One of the pressing conundrums in the post-1994 era is that women are hated and feared and this anger takes the form of sexual violence against the most vulnerable in society who are often women and their children. Therefore this paper reviews the positive but paradoxical contribution of gender equality in a society confronted by ever-increasing levels of gender based violence.

Sharon Groenmeyer is a sociologist specialising in gender and development with experience working in various social contexts and fields in the discipline. Because of her familiarity with the development sector in the SADC region, she has managed research and evaluation programmes in capacity building for UN agencies and non-government organisations. I obtained a PhD in Sociology from the University of Science and Technology based in Trondheim, Norway. My dissertation was on social policy and its impact on women in male dominated sectors of construction and fishing. As a feminist researcher, I have published on women working in agriculture and fishing. I am currently a senior research associate in the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Johannesburg. I have developed an interest in topics that link democracy with peacebuilding. My recent publications are on the intersection of gender, democracy and citizenship.

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Sex-selective and gendered forms of violence: what do the 1965-66 Indonesian massacres tell us about gender and genocide?

Annie Pohlman (University of Queensland)

Drawing on interviews with approximately 150 women survivors, in this paper I outline a range of sex-selective and gendered forms of violence perpetrated against women and girls during the Indonesian massacres of 1965-66. Specifically, I examine sexualized forms of violence used predominantly against women and girls, including strip-searches and particular forms of torture and mutilation, as well as forced abortion and violence against pregnant women. I argue that the case of the 1965-66 Indonesian massacres can contribute to wider research paradigms into gendered experiences of violence during war, mass atrocities, and other forms of mass conflict. This focus on women's experiences, women's lives and women's testimonies attests that although the massacres in Indonesia were intended to wipe out all those associated with the Left, 'the road to annihilation was marked by events that specifically affected men as men and women as women' (Hilberg 1992: 126). By doing so, it examines the gendered and gendering effects of violence against women and girls in a situation of genocidal violence against Communists and their alleged sympathisers. In my analysis of women survivors' testimonies, I examine how gendered bodies and subjectivities are performed and constructed during the mass violence which followed the coup in Indonesia. As such, I argue that this study into sexual violence against women and girls

within the Indonesian context contributes to feminist understandings of women's experiences during mass violence as well as interpretations of the effects of this violence.

For Annie Pohlman's bio, please refer to Panel Six

Medical outcasts: Conflict-induced Zimbabwean and Mexican undocumented migrants fighting gendered and institutionalized xenophobia in American and South African emergency healthcare

Roxanne Richter (University of the Witwatersrand)

As witnessed through the firsthand experiences of a frontline activist and international medical aid practitioner, this feminist participatory fieldwork uncovers the experiences of conflict-induced displacements, unrecognized statuses, and emergency healthcare treatment among female Mexican undocumented Latinas in Houston, Texas, and undocumented female Zimbabwean forced migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. This presentation will compare and contrast constructed "social determinants" of suffering and disease – such as xenophobia, gender inequity, structural violence, political oppression – within these two specified groups of women. By utilizing a small group of purposive interviews, this study of American and South African policies and politics uncovered women's suffering as a direct consequence of xenophobic and gendered institutionalized practices coupled with a failure to enforce access rights. Through a core group of 24 interviews, this exposé revealed Zimbabwean women reporting higher communicable diseases and seeking care 16 times more than their Mexican Latina counterparts – but lower domestic violence and depression rates than the interviewed Latinas.

A "Gender-Aware Disaster Care" listing of provisions and services will also be presented, which can reduce impact, acuity, and costs in women's post-disaster (post-displacement) healthcare provisioning. This research makes the supposition that not gender – but gender inequity – is the mechanism that places women at heightened risks during a conflict-induced displacement, and that the reality of many forced migrant women's experiences in claiming their accorded healthcare rights is more theoretical than practical in its disposition.

For Roxanne Richter's bio, please refer to Panel Three

Panel Twelve: Queer Governance

Chair: Helen Berents (Queensland University of Technology)

For Helen Berents' bio, please refer to Panel Six

The Materialities of Queer Governance in Modern Turkey

Paul Gordon Kramer (University of Auckland)

Currents in queer theory demand a renegotiation of corporeality in explorations of subject formation. The materialist turn in queer theory highlights the embodied subject's capacities: how bodies enact queerness as an identity while potentially subverting homophobic oppression.

My paper investigates how materialism in queer theory can contribute to new understandings of sexuality in the Middle East, with a particular focus on Turkey. I am interested not in who queer subjects are: not in the subject as intersectional, but what people do, how they act, and how their physicality is politically enabling or disabling. I therefore give primacy to a queer ethics that locates subjects' corporealities as mediator of socio-discursive encounters.

The queer subject deserves a genealogical contextualization within the literature of gender studies, queer theory, and postcolonial studies. My paper is the result of several months of fieldwork, based on ethnographic and interview methods. It begins by locating primary developments in materialist queer thought, emphasizing non-Western embodied subjectivization. I then consider the particularities of Turkish queer encounters, both discursive and physical. I consider formations of gendered labor division, constructions of race, and patterns of consumption as anchor points in my discussion.

Paul Gordon Kramer is a PhD candidate in Politics and International Relations at the University of Auckland and comes from New York.

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Queer Just Wars?

Thomas Moore (University of Westminster)

Attempts to apply ethical theories to 'real world' problems in security politics have tended to establish an ontological divide between the legitimate business of 'doing violence' through the political collective and the unencumbered realm of private individuals as liberal agents. Just war theory has historically demarcated

between the public and private conditions of violence, nurturing a foundational myth of violence in which ethical continuums of killing are linked to the legitimacy of the Weberian state and its capacity to structure moral vocabularies of justice negotiated through rationalised discourses of killing. This paper engages with feminist critiques of just war theory in international political thought (Sjoberg; Hutchings; Mann) and suggests that in putting forward a 'dialogic' approach to political violence there is also a need to examine alternative conceptions of political subjectivity in relation to contemporary just war theory. The revival of just war theory in times of moral crisis – Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq – can be understood in terms of moralised discourses of violence. As just war theorists readily proclaim, the account of political violence developed through the Judeo-Christian just war tradition cannot be reduced to either political realism or moral pacifism. Just war theory needs the Queer subaltern, as its unilateral conception of political agency limits the ethical landscape to violent questions of action/inaction in world politics. Sexual orientation and gender identity is core to the normative framing of just wars and queer imaginings allow us to see different configurations of justice that constitute the multiple orthodoxies of nationalism(s), racialism(s) and heterosexualisms(s).

Dr Thomas (Tom) Moore is Principal Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Westminster, where he is currently Director of Learning and Teaching within the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. Tom's research is primarily in the area of international political theory and examines how the canon of political theory has established violence as the primary mythology of global politics. Current research is concerned with the geopolitical dimensions of just war theory and communicative justifications of violence in contemporary international politics through queer theory. He is interested in conceptions of just war and how queer politics presents important ethical dimensions for understanding the politics of violence within global politics.

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'The Homosexual Question': Are LGBT rights a security issue?

Corinne Mason (Brandon University)

In the international arena, questions of sexual orientation and gender identity are now occupying a prominent place once held by what is known to feminist scholars as "the Woman Question." According to Rahul Rao (2014), the "Homosexual Question" is the new marker of modernity, where campaigns, images, and news stories of LGBT rights and sexual minority activism globally circulate to mark "a temporal phase of wider acceptable of LGBT rights and conjuring up visions of progress." In official remarks for the 2011 Recognition of International Human Rights Day, former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made an explicit connection between ending violence against women globally, and the United States' promotion of LGBT rights abroad.

When announcing that \$3 million dollars would be placed into a new Global Equality Fund, Clinton compared 'traditional' practices of violence against women to violence against LGBT individuals, using, unsurprisingly, a cultural explanation targeting customs and religion.

In this presentation, I will take on Rao's (2014) "queer questions" to think through the intersections of the "Woman Question" and the "Homosexual Question." Focusing specifically on global campaigns aimed to address LGBT rights, this presentation will begin to answer the following questions: How is gender identity and sexual orientation discursively connected to women's rights, security, and peace? If the "Woman Question" remains unanswered globally, why 'move on' to the "Homosexual Question"? Finally, what does it mean to seek gender justice in 2015, when gender identity and sexuality orientation are being taken more seriously at the international level?

Dr. Corinne Mason is an Assistant Professor in Gender & Women's Studies and Sociology at Brandon University. She conducts transnational critical race feminist analyses of development discourses and popular news media, focusing specifically on representations of global LGBTIQ rights, violence against women, reproductive justice, and foreign aid. Her work has been published in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *Feminist Formations*, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *Surveillance & Society*, and *Canadian Journal of Communication*. She is currently working a book-length project on the 'mainstreaming' of sexuality, gender identity, expression in development, and also exploring the connections between race, social media, and humanitarianism.

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Panel Thirteen: Gendering the conflict transition process

Chair: Anne Brown (University of Queensland)

Anne Brown is a Senior Research Fellow, and has a strong focus on research and practice in the areas of dialogue processes, cross-cultural interchange and building political community, particularly across historically difficult

boundaries and around issues of violence. She has held a number of ARC grants and is currently working on a number of externally funded projects. Anne leads the University of Queensland's involvement in the Vanuatu Kastom Governance Partnership with the Malvatumaui Council of Chiefs (Vanuatu) and AusAID, as well as projects within East Timor and the Solomon Islands. She has worked as an Australian diplomat and in conflict prevention and peace-building projects in Asia and the Pacific Island region and has been active in theoretical and policy related exchange on changing forms of state-building and peace-building.

Are we trading womens' rights in transitions?

Susan G. Harris Rimmer (Australian National University)

Could the practice of diplomacy in transitional states be improved by a stronger focus on gender equality as a fundamental component of sustainable development and human security? More and more human rights advocates are arguing that women's rights should not be 'traded away' during diplomatic negotiations to end conflicts and design interventions to build peace in transitional states, based on the participation imperative in the Women Peace and Security doctrine. This paper will focus on how transition is experienced 'from below' when diplomatic elites make deals, and offer insight into practising diplomacy during transitions. The aim is to assess ideas and discourse about the 'tradeability' of women's rights in states experiencing a transition using examples from Afghanistan; and define what 'tradeability' means by identifying examples of where diplomatic representatives of a new State seek to 'trade' up or down the rights of women, who benefits from these negotiations in the new State, and what the international community says and does in such situations. It will assess three key areas of international diplomatic negotiations: peace agreements, development assistance, and security sector reform and assess how these negotiations affected women's status on the ground. What difference has been made by new roles such as NATO's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security? The longer-term aim of the research is to design criteria or approaches to diplomatic interventions that may be more aware of gendered impacts, and aim to either benefit women, or at least 'do no harm' to women and girls.

For Susan G. Harris Rimmer's bio, please refer to Panel Five

Gender, mediation and peace negotiations

Karin Aggestam (Lund University)

Peace negotiations express a strong sense of "masculine hegemony." Historically, it has been men from the battlefields who have been expected to deliver the peace. The UN Security Council resolution 1325 builds on the idea that if more women enter the traditionally male-dominated area of diplomacy they will make a difference for how conflicts are resolved. Yet, women continue to be virtually absent from the negotiation table, and are grossly underrepresented as international mediators. In academia, there are nearly no studies on gender and international mediation with the exception of a few that utilise simulation to illuminate distinct gender styles of negotiation (Florea 2003). The overarching aim of this paper is two-fold: 1) to critically assess some of the major theoretical weaknesses on gender in international mediation theory and suggest ways to advance the state-of-the-art; and 2) to empirically illustrate some of the structural gendered conditions and patterns for the inclusion and exclusion of women, which builds upon a pilot-study that map women as international mediators in the last two decades.

For Karin Aggestam's bio, please refer to Panel Eleven

"Light, heat and shadows: Women's reflections on peacebuilding and conflict transition in Bougainville"

Nicole George (University of Queensland)

In their recent discussion of gender and hybridity in peacebuilding, Annika Björkdahl and Kristine Höglund (2013) draw on Anna Tsing's foundational work on "friction" to explain how "global ideas pertaining to liberal peace are charged and changed by their encounters with post-conflict realities" (2013, 292). In this paper, I draw on these concepts as I examine women's reflections on their place as peacebuilders during Bougainville's long process of conflict reconstruction. Drawing on material gathered through interviews conducted in 2014 with a range of women leaders (political, religious and activist) I consider where and how women understood their contributions to conflict resolution and the global and local sources that assisted their well-recognised work in "bringing peace to their country". This testimony appears, at first glance, to support a positive story of frictional "light and heat". I suggest it is also one of shadows. A regional narrative which celebrates the heroic capacity of Bougainvillean women and their agency as peacebuilders has been drawn upon across the Pacific Islands to argue for stronger localisation of UNSCR 1325. But in this paper I suggest that this narrative may also mask other stories, appearing more elusively in my interviews, which suggest women's exposure to gendered and sexualised forms of violence. I contend that, in Bougainville the overriding focus on women's capacity to build peace may

have prevented critical scrutiny of the gendered terms of that peace and, particularly, the redress owed to women who have been victims of conflict related violence.

For *Nicole George's* bio, please refer to Panel Three

Panel Fourteen: Political Economy, Environment and Security

Chair: Laura Sjoberg (University of Florida)

Laura Sjoberg is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. She is the homebase editor of the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Her research is on gender and international security, with foci on war theory, women's violence in global politics, and queer theory. She is a 2015-2016 Vice President of the International Studies Association.

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Invisible Labour, Invisible Bodies: How the Global Political Economy Affects Reproductive Freedom

Maria Tanyag (Monash University)

This paper uses the concept of Depletion through Social Reproduction (DSR) to reveal the global political and economic drivers that constrain and undermine reproductive freedom. Drawing upon feminist research on the political economy of gender-based violence, we outline how social reproductive labour largely performed by women and girls is harnessed to service economic activity where the costs and benefits of this servicing are profoundly unequal. That is, the contributions by social reproduction in the household, community and the state are not matched by contributions to sustain social reproduction across these different spheres. We argue that maternal mortality (recognised as a form of violence against women in the 1993 UN Declaration) is the most extremely negative consequence of the global and societal devaluing of social reproduction. The death of women and girls during pregnancy and childbirth is directly and indirectly related to globally-promoted neoliberal policies that 'roll back' the state's responsibility for social welfare provision and to the rise of transnational religious fundamentalist movements challenging reproductive rights reform. By connecting reproductive freedom with the exploitative and depletive nature of the global political economy, the paper makes visible social reproductive labour but even more importantly, it lays bare the gendered bodies that experience depletion. Lastly, we show how the continued invisibility of social reproductive labour within the neoliberal global economy effectively undermines global campaigns to promote reproductive freedom.

Maria Tanyag is a doctoral candidate and researcher from Monash University. She specialises in feminist international relations, political economy and sexual and reproductive rights. Her country expertise is on the Philippines with a focus on post-disaster and post-conflict sites.

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It's not personal; it's just business: a gender analysis of economies in Timor-Leste

Sara Niner (Monash University)

Strong links exist between gendered inequality and the informal nature of the post-conflict economy in the new nation of Timor-Leste. National politics, dominated by veterans of the independence struggle, can be extremely aggressive and have led to civil conflict in recent history. The dominant political co-alition has been strengthened by distributing resource dividends through patronage networks, setting up a society based on structural inequality and institutional violence. Niner argues this includes exploitation and discrimination against women, amongst others, which creates the conditions for gendered violence. The dedication of women contributed to the cause of national independence yet the peace dividend has not been shared equitably. Victory is overshadowed by continued feminine subordination and discrimination as documented in national statistics of health and education and the post-conflict economy. The crucial and unique role of women during the war has not been fully acknowledged and this effects women's active and equitable participation in post-conflict society.

Dr Sara Niner is an interdisciplinary researcher and lecturer in Anthropology with the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. She is an expert in the field of gender and international development with a particular interest in those issues in the post-conflict environment of Timor-Leste and is widely published in this field. **sara.niner@monash.edu**

Close(d) Encounters: Feminist Security studies, Feminist International Political Economy and the return to basics

Heidi Hudson (University of the Free State)

Recently feminist scholars have placed the need for more concerted and systematic re-engagement between FSS and F(I)PE on the agenda, reminding us that earlier, pioneering feminist IR scholarship was much more integrated. I submit that an emerging consensus around the need for deeper engagement or re-engagement between FSS and F(I)PE is necessitated by the imperative to return to feminist IR basics that used to presume a tacit organic synergy between feminist security and political economy analyses. The paper focuses on ways in which to change 'closed' encounters into 'close' encounters. I therefore problematize three interdependent areas of feminist reflection or metaphorical fences that stand in the way of achieving substantive diversity, namely location (from where we speak), the subject we speak of, and how/why we say it (for whom we speak). The first area relates to the outsider or outsider-insider status of FSS and F(I)PE in relation to mainstream IR. I propose that we should rather recognize their unique location at the intersection of critical interdisciplines such as Peace Studies and Critical Development Studies. Secondly, both fields initially shared very specific 'subject matter' but over recent years discourse and matter have become separated from each other, with FSS privileging the former and FIPE paying more attention to materialities. The last area concerns the politics of context and framing of feminist fields of specialization. Whereas F(I)PE appears to be more in tune with concerns of the developing world, FSS has not paid sufficient attention to security needs in the postcolony. I contextualize the argument by analyzing the decolonizing and transdisciplinary potential of gender, security and political economy scholarship in Africa.

Heidi Hudson is Professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for Africa Studies at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. Her current research interests concentrate on discursive and material gender deficits of liberal peacebuilding in the postcolony. Over the years she has contributed several chapters in books and has published numerous articles in, amongst others, *International Peacekeeping*, *Security Dialogue*, *Security Studies*, *Politikon*, *Agenda*, *Strategic Review for Southern Africa* and *African Security Review*. She is co-editor of *International Feminist Journal of Politics*,

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Gender and agency in the face of environmental crises: adaptation in southwest Bangladesh

Amy MacMahon (University of Queensland)

Gender and agency in the face of environmental crises: adaptation in southwest Bangladesh Environmental crises in Bangladesh – climate change, salinity, cross-border river damming and farmland degradation – is having significant impacts on local-level food and water security, particularly in the southwest. Women in farming communities are coming face-to-face with these changes in their daily activities and decisions, via gendered divisions of labour and power around the production and distribution of food. A tension has emerged in academic literature, and development practice around gender and environmental change. Women in exposed areas are seen as vulnerable to crises, but also seen as catalysts for sustainable development. In this way, women are cast as both “chief-victim-and-caretaker” (Resurreccion, 2011), locked in “static” gender roles (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). Using a feminist political ecology framework, I argue that such generalisations avoid important questions around the role of agency, and the ways in which women and men may be “inhabiting” or “resisting” gendered norms (Mahmood, 2005) in the process of adapting to environmental change and disasters. In southwest Bangladesh, the pursuit of food and water security in a changing environment is resulting in changes to established divisions of labour, which at times also reflect new configurations of gendered power. Men and women are engaging with each other, the environment, and the production of food, in diverse ways, with agency and reflexivity expressed through the use of gendered knowledge around food, gendered labour and gendered spaces.

Amy MacMahon is a PhD student at the School of Social Science, UQ. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts and Social Science, she has conducted research in Australia and Bangladesh, looking at development, energy policy, urban agriculture and climate change.

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Panel Fifteen: Gendering the Global Conflict Protection framework

Chair: Heidi Hudson (University of the Free State)

For Heidi Hudson's bio, please refer to Panel Fourteen

Feminist ripostes to the responsibility to protect doctrine

Susan G. Harris-Rimmer (Australian National University)

In this paper I address the question of how Bosnian women's NGOs have contributed to the implementation UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in BiH. It argues that the Bosnian women's NGOs as norm advocates have been working with a double strategy to call attention to non-compliance with international gender-specific norms and to enforce change. Unlike most global norm diffusion literature, this article argues that in order to act gender-sensitive, not only national actors need to be socialized to comply with the norm on gender, peace and security, but also the international actors in the post-conflict internationalized society of Bosnia. Hence, it doesn't only look at the process of norm translation into domestic policies but also in the policies of international actors in the internationalized post conflict countries, who also did not or do not comply with international norms and standards. Based on the analyses of the advocacy work of the Bosnian women's-NGOs the double strategy model includes different phases of activities from women's NGOs as norm advocates: Orientation Phase, Agenda-setting Phase, Policy-Creation and Norm Implementation Phase. Research for this study was conducted on a trip to BiH in the summer of 2013. I interviewed women's rights activists, parliamentary representatives, scholars as well as staff members of international Organizations and international donors. I collected documents, reports, protests letters on government and international organizations, and other materials put out by women's-NGOs used for their campaigns to implement the UNSCR 1325.

For Susan G. Harris-Rimmer's bio, please refer to Panel Five

Reparations for Rape: Policies, Promises, and Consequences

Alexis Leanna Henshaw (Bucknell University)

In recent years, the United Nations system has come out strongly in support of the expansion of reparations programs for victims of sexual violence. However, an examination of existing reparations programs for those affected by sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Bosnia and Herzegovina shows that not only have these programs failed to improve the lives of victims, they have also undermined the legitimacy of state and local governments and the international community. Using these cases as reference and drawing on statements from participants, I discuss the causes and consequences of a failure to properly understand the needs of victims of sexual violence. A particular focus here is on the sense of grievance felt by victims and the outcome of diminished institutional legitimacy. I argue that the long-term impacts of this loss of legitimacy--which affects institutions at the local, state, and international level--are under-explored but extremely important. In addressing this issue, I explore viable alternatives to current reparations policies, as well as how to address the needs of previously under-served victims like children, men, the disabled, and secondary victims.

Alexis Henshaw is Visiting Assistant Professor in Political Science at Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, USA. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Arizona and researches issues related to gender and conflict.

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The politics of protection in post-neutral states: Gendered Security?

Christine Agius (Swinburne University) and **Karen Devine** (Dublin City University)

The politics of protection has been a key theme in security, in particular, in relation to gender. Humanitarian and peacekeeping operations are traditionally associated with protection of vulnerable groups in conflict situations. There has also been an increasingly robust form of intervention proposed in recent years. Often profiled as ideal states to engage in peace and humanitarian operations due to their military non-alignment, neutral states have played an important role in this area. This paper examines how gender has been deployed or worked into arguments for robust military peace enforcement activities beyond the traditional scope of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention in the 'post-neutral' states.

We argue that these states provide a unique and complex case study through which to examine the contours and historically situated dynamics of intervention and state identity. Yet their profile, incorporating the legacy of neutrality, is portrayed in gendered terms and subjected to an inherently gendered conceptualisation in international relations and security. Even as these states transition to 'post-neutrality', gendered associations of statehood and security persist, in terms of projecting a more masculine understanding of security and the politics of protection. We examine concepts of gendered security through the cases of Sweden and Ireland as actors in regional security cooperation and the wider discourses that construct the dynamic muscular intervention and 'cosmopolitan militaries'.

Christine Agius is Lecturer in Politics and IR at Swinburne University, with research interests in identity, security and the Nordic states. She has published her work in these areas in *Security Dialogue and Cooperation and Conflict*, and specialises in the politics of 'post-neutral' states, particularly the foreign and security policy of

Sweden. Her recent work has focused on the gendered dimensions of these research areas, particularly with regard to the politics of protection and humanitarianism. She is the Director of the Identity Research Network, which brings together research on identity from an interdisciplinary perspective.
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Panel Sixteen: Indigenous Women's Perspectives on Gender, Peace and Security

Chair: Elizabeth Strakosch (University of Queensland)

Elizabeth Strakosch is a lecturer in public policy and governance, and her research focuses on the intersection of policy and political relationships. She completed her PhD in political science at the University of Queensland in 2011, and worked as a research fellow on a multi-site study of performance measurement in Australian social policy. In 2013, she took up an early career fellowship at the Institute for Culture and Society at the University of Western Sydney, and in 2014 joined the School of Political Science and International Studies at UQ.

Mundanara Bayles (The Black Card)

Mundanara Bayles is managing director of The Black Card, a cultural education and training business. Her cultural heritage is connected to the Wonnarua and Bunjalung people on her mother's side and the Birri-Gubba and Gungalu on her father's side. Mundanara grew up in Redfern NSW with her 8 sisters and moved to her father's country in the early 90's. Coming from a family that has been active in the Aboriginal movement since the 60s and 70s she continues to follow their example. As a proud advocate for her people, she follows in her father's footsteps and aims to make a positive contribution. Mundanara works both with the BlackCard, her community and organisation's to share key learnings of Aboriginal culture and people. Mundanara's philosophy is to 'live and learn with our neighbours'. She has combined formal qualifications in Business, Media, Natural Medicine and Nutrition, with an inspiring career working in Aboriginal organisations in QLD and NSW. She is currently a board member at The Aboriginal & Islander Independent Community School also known as The Murri School in Brisbane, where she herself graduated from some 20 years ago. Mundanara is a recent graduate from Melbourne Business Schools "Murra – Indigenous Entrepreneurs program".

Lilla Watson (The Black Card)

Lilla Watson holds a wealth of knowledge on Aboriginal education, knowledge and culture. Dedicating her career to educating others, both on national and international platforms. Lilla holds a Bachelor of Arts, and has contributed greatly to the world of academia, publishing a host of papers on Indigenous issues and being a key note speaker at several monumental events including – the National Conference on Higher Education, the International Feminism: Towards 2000 Conference and the Anti-Discrimination Commissions' and the 'Co-operation out of Conflict' conference. Lilla has worked across the country, with several universities, as a visiting fellow lecturer. Lilla has developed and taught core university subjects such as 'Aboriginal Perspectives' for the University of Queensland, and in partnership with Mary Graham, developed 'Aboriginal Approaches to knowledge'.

Denise Proud (University of Sunshine Coast)

Denise Proud was born in Cherbourg, an Aboriginal settlement in Queensland, and in Wakka-Wakka country. She was an early childhood educator for many years and is a popular international speaker in this field. Denise has also worked in correctional centres, youth detention centres, and women's centres and has been closely involved with The University of Queensland facilitating cultural awareness workshops and guest lecturing on a diverse range of topics.

Panel Seventeen: Implementing the UNSCR 1325 Mandate

Chair: Soumita Basu (South Asian University)

For Soumita Basu's bio, please refer to Panel Ten

Women, Peace and Security: Translation, Implementation and Challenges of UNSCR 1325 in BiH

Jagoda Rosul-Gajic (Universität der Bundeswehr München/Columbia University)

In this paper I address the question of how Bosnian women's NGOs have contributed to the implementation UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in BiH. It argues that the Bosnian women's NGOs as norm advocates have been working with a double strategy to call attention to non-compliance with international gender-specific norms and to enforce change. Unlike most global norm diffusion literature, this article argues that in order to act gender-sensitive, not only national actors need to be socialized to comply with the norm on gender, peace and security, but also the international actors in the post-conflict internationalized society of Bosnia. Hence, it doesn't only look at the process of norm translation into domestic policies but also in the policies of international actors in the internationalized post conflict countries, who also did not or do not comply with international norms and standards. Based on the analyses of the advocacy work of the Bosnian women's-NGOs the double strategy model includes different phases of activities from women's NGOs as norm advocates: Orientation Phase, Agenda-setting Phase, Policy-Creation and Norm Implementation Phase. Research for this study was conducted on a trip to BiH in the summer of 2013. I interviewed women's rights activists, parliamentary representatives, scholars as well as staff members of international Organizations and international donors. I collected documents, reports, protests letters on government and international organizations, and other materials put out by women's-NGOs used for their campaigns to implement the UNSCR 1325.

Jagoda Rosul-Gajic is originally from Croatia, and now a visiting scholar at the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University and a Ph.D. candidate at the Universität der Bundeswehr München, Department of International Relations, Germany. Her current research focuses on the implementation of international women's human rights norms into domestic policies in post-war Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
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Contestation or co-optation? A feminist analysis of the National Action Plans in Norway and United States

Barbara Trojanowska (University of Monash)

The commitment to gender mainstreaming contained in the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda provides a platform to impact gender relations worldwide. However, the WPS agenda has been applied in distinct ways in Norway and the United States. Using these two contrasting cases, the article illustrates the influence of state identity and existing policy frames on the implementation of the WPS agenda on the national level - as manifested in National Action Plans (NAPs). The juxtaposition of the 2011-13 NAP of Norway and the 2011-15 NAP of the US across three dimensions of the WPS agenda (i.e. the integration of a gender perspective in conflict analysis, the participation of women in peace and security policymaking, and the protection of women from conflict-related sexual violence) serves to discuss how far and in what ways these two different implementations of the WPS agenda can contest or sustain the status quo of the peace and security discourse characterized by pre-existing gender inequalities and hierarchies. Ultimately, this article does not attempt to measure the outcomes of the NAPs in Norway and the US which are still underway. Rather, I approach the action plans from a discursive perspective with the aim to understand their potential to impact the dynamics of gender relations.

Barbara Trojanowska is a PhD candidate at Monash University, Australia, where she studies the development and implementation of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security in Asia Pacific. She is also the coordinator of the WILPF Academic Network and has previously provided expert support to Peace Women Program, which is devoted to monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 1325.
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Bargaining for Peace: masculinities, peacebuilding and patriarchal bargaining

David Duriesmith (University of Melbourne)

Conventional models of peacebuilding have tended to focus on the reconstruction of society to adhere to a romanticised conception of 'normal' society. Feminist research (McKenzie 2009) has suggested that the efforts to build peace often rely on a patriarchal vision civilian life and have a tendency to exclude women from reconstruction programmes, or to direct them towards feminised roles. By placating young men who have participated in armed conflict, and marginalising young women who have done the same, these programmes have used securitized understandings of development to construct a capitalist patriarchal model of society. This paper aims to forward this research by looking at the gendered dynamics of peacebuilding between groups of men. By drawing on masculinities research and employing Kandiyoti's (1988) notion of patriarchal bargaining this research suggests that peacebuilding efforts have worked to forge patriarchal bargains between marginalised groups of men and dominant hegemons. To do this the paper explore the case studies of Sierra Leone and South Sudan.

For **David Duriesmith's** bio, please refer to Panel Fifteen

Closing Session (1) : Publishing Feminist Research on International Politics

Laura Sjoberg (University of Florida)

For Laura Sjoberg's bio, please refer to Panel Fourteen

Heidi Hudson (University of the Free State)

For Heidi Hudson's bio, please refer to Panel Fourteen

Laura Shepherd (University of New South Wales)

For Laura Shepherd's bio, please refer to Panel One

Sara Davies (Queensland University of Technology)

For Sara Davies' bio, please refer to Panel Four

Closing Session (2) : Young Feminist Leaders and Allies Forum

Molly Frankham (R2P Student Coalition)

Molly studies a Bachelor of Arts/ Bachelor of Journalism at UQ majoring in International Relations and French. She is undertaking an informal internship at the Asia Pacific Centre for R2P, researching the intersection between gender and mass atrocities in the Asia Pacific region. Molly believes we must hold governments accountable to their actions, and we as an international community have a responsibility to protect populations, and we must empower and recognise women as agents of change in the pursuit of global peace and security.

Amy Jelacic (University of Queensland Union)

Amy Jelacic is the Vice-President (Gender and Sexuality) at the UQ Union, and is a vocal and active feminist. She is undertaking an honours year in political science at the University of Queensland and counts political economy and intellectual history among her academic interests. Amy is committed to encouraging and promoting more women to enter the political sphere, whether in academia, the public service, or politics.

Ayesha Lutshini (Meri Toksave)

Ayesha Lutshini, the co-founder and executive director of Meri Toksave, is of mixed PNG and Australian heritage and was born and raised in Papua New Guinea. Her time in PNG helped shape her passion towards social justice and international development. Ayesha is particularly passionate about Meri Toksave for two main reasons. Firstly, because of the role Meri Toksave plays in activating and engaging young people as agents for change in Papua New Guinea and Australia. Secondly, because of the work Meri Toksave does to address gender-based violence and promote gender equality.

Tasman Bain (Meri Toksave)

Tasman Bain is the Co-Founder and Deputy of Meri Toksave (a youth-led women's rights NGO for Papua New Guinea), a White Ribbon Ambassador, a Plan International Youth Ambassador, and a B.A. (Anthropology/Peace and Conflict Studies)/B.Soc.Sc. (Development) student at UQ.

Libby Feeny (One Woman Project)

Libby is a current post-graduate student at the University of Queensland, with a research focus on international security. Her interest on the intersection between environmental degradation, gender and socially differentiated vulnerability inspired Libby to join the One Woman Project as the head content researcher. With a long history of involvement in social justice organisations, Libby passionately believes in engaging and educating young people as agents for change.



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