

ABSTRACTS

**International Feminist Journal of Politics (IFJP)
2016 Conference
“Decolonizing Knowledges in Feminist World Politics”
University of Cincinnati
Tangeman University Center (TUC)
May 20-21, 2016
www.ifjpconference.net
#IFJP2016**

FRIDAY, MAY 20

10:00-11:30am **Session I Concurrent Panels**

I.1 ROUNDTABLE *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics and Politics*

Chair: Annick Wibben, University of San Francisco, USA (awibben@usfca.edu)

Pascha Bueno-Hansen, University of Delaware, USA (pbh@udel.edu)

Isis Nusair, Denison University, USA (nusairi@denison.edu)

Laura Shepherd, University of New South Wales, Australia (l.j.shepherd@unsw.edu.au)

Margo Okazawa-Rey, Hamilton College, USA (mokazawa@hamilton.edu)

This roundtable will offer a discussion of *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics and Politics* (Routledge 2016) edited by Annick T.R. Wibben. Inspired by Ackerly, Stern and True's (2006) *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, this book combines theoretical and methodological discussion with the exploration of case study research. *Researching War* provides a unique overview of varied feminist contributions to the study of war through cases from around the world and showcases the role of feminist methodological, ethical and political commitments in the research process. The roundtable will discuss and assess the main contributions of the book, which include showcasing a multiplicity of experiences with war and violence, emphasizing everyday experiences of war and violence with accounts from around the world and discussing theoretical and methodological innovation in feminist research on war.

I.2 *Gendered and Queer Insecurities in Europe*

Add Women and Hope? Assessing the Gender Impact of EU Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) Missions

Maria-Adriana Deiana, Dublin City University, Ireland (maria-adriana.deiana@dcu.ie)

(co-authored with Kenneth McDonagh, Dublin City University, Ireland
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The adoption of two policy initiatives to address UN SCR1325 (2008, 2009) signaled the EU's commitment to gender mainstreaming in the context of peacekeeping and conflict management. However, research into the impact of these initiatives has criticised EU policies for not taking into sufficient account the complex relationship between 'counting women' and dealing with the underlying patriarchal power structures. On the other hand, the focus of the research to date has been on deployed military CSDP missions with less attention given on exploring the relevance of gender policies in both civilian deployments in the field and in the planning and pre-deployment phase. This paper aims to address these gaps by developing a broader conceptual toolkit for assessing the gender impact of

CSDP missions that captures both the quantitative (number of women) and qualitative (shifts in underlying social power structures) aspects of gender policies. Empirically, it provides an in-depth analysis of EU gender initiatives by drawing on three case-studies of EU civilian and military missions which, crucially, have been reviewed in light of the formal adoption of EU gender policies. Furthermore, it extends the analysis to both the pre-deployment phase and the mission deployment in order to investigate to what extent gender concerns are incorporated in the planning stage and in what ways these are operationalised in the field. Central questions of this paper are: How does the intersection between the Women Peace and Security agenda and EU Common Security and Defence Policy work in practice? To what extent does it lend to transformative ends?

(Post-Conflict LGBT Strategies in (Post)Transition Serbia: Interrogating Radical Feminist Activism, Anti-Fascism Campaigns, and Homonormative Agendas in the Former Yugoslavia
Sonnet Gabbard, Ohio State University, USA (Gabbard.26@osu.edu)

In 1999, U.S.-led NATO strikes hit downtown Belgrade, Serbia in an attempt to end the war in Kosovo. Sixteen years later, my paper interrogates the ongoing links between the anti-war activism of the late 1990s and contemporary LGBT organizing in Serbia. I argue that past scholarship on hetero/homonormativity and nationalism has its limitations in a Serb context. Building on Katja Kahlina's work, I consider the limitations of a homonationalist framework in Serbia. Considering lesser-known constructions of what it means to be a Serb- anti-war, non-hetero, and transgressive- my paper tests the precarious binds of a homonational and pinkwashing critique. My paper examines the historic links between the anti-war activists in Serbia with the current efforts and work for LGBT justice and rights. As an interdisciplinary scholar, my work integrates a variety of epistemologies across disciplines by putting into conversation with one another to address the unique vulnerabilities anti-war and LGBT activists experience in Serbia. First, drawing from transnational feminist and queer critiques of governance and decolonialism, (homo)nationalism, and transnational sexuality studies, I consider how new non-heterosexual identity politics- with roots in anti-war activism- has surfaced in Serbia since the Kosovo War. I argue that it is at the intersection of anti-war and LGBT organizing that new and conflicting identity politics have emerged in part as a reaction to a pro-war hyper nationalism and neoliberal globalization

Repronormativity and the Reproduction of the Nation State: The State and Sexuality Collide
Anna Weissman, University of Florida, USA (aweissman@ufl.edu)

This paper seeks to explain the consistent margins between popular support for same-sex marriage and same-sex adoption/parenting. I posit that the paradigm of repronormativity explains these differences, in permitting only "legitimate," state-sanctioned, heteronormative reproduction. Through three case studies—Poland's strict abortion policies, Sweden's history of sterilizing trans individuals, and France's law against lesbians utilizing artificial reproduction technologies—I will demonstrate how not only does repronormativity select and enforce an Inside/Outside, in-group/out-group(s) binary and legitimize only certain reproduction, it also tethers female sexuality to reproduction and creates an inevitability of reproduction.

I.3 Land, Food, and Cultural Security

If These Fields Could Talk: Decolonizing the Political Economy of Women's Agricultural Labor
Mauro J. Caraccioli, St. Michael's College, USA (mjcaraccioli@smcvt.edu)

Bryan White, Cincinnati State Technical and Community College, USA
(bryan.white@cincinnatiastate.edu)

Recent scholarly interest in the political economy of agricultural labor has drawn attention to the adverse experiences of migrant workers across borders, but also within new locales. In the United States, much contemporary research has highlighted the economic motives, legal imbroglios, and innovative political strategies used by diverse groups of migrant activists in making their plight more public. Encompassing both individual and group desires, migrant activism is often portrayed as espousing dynamic, inclusive, and pluralistic political agendas. Yet cataloguing the experiences of women laborers has generally remained a secondary concern within the study of

migrant activists, at least in relation to the broader collective challenges such groups face. Women are often represented as part of other, allegedly more urgent demands, rendering their particular experiences of violence, displacement, and political resistance of marginal interest. In this paper, we argue that since the birth of the agricultural rights movement in the 1950s, and particularly in the newest wave of migrant activism shaping Latino politics today, the work of women has been at the forefront of both political and intellectual action. Drawing on insights from the early struggles of the National Farmworkers Association, and particularly the writings of the union's co-founder Dolores Huerta, we argue that beginning with the experiences of women's agricultural labor offers an opportunity to decolonize the political economy of agriculture and return to a more radical sense of local knowledge. Women's agricultural labor thus becomes more than an offshoot concern, but rather part of the frontline for greater food and social justice

Food: A Critical Dialogue of the Global Food System

Jennifer Dye, University of Cincinnati, USA (jennndye@mac.com)

This paper provides a feminist analysis of global food security and food sovereignty by using feminist analysis and critical approaches to neoliberalism and intersectionality to critique dominant paradigms within the global food system. First, I present the concept of food security by examining the existing literature, including how major international institutions, like the United Nations, approach food security and alternative approaches to the global food system, such as food regimes. This paper provides analysis into the concept of "food security" situated within the global food system, as well as an analysis of the significance of political, social, and economic relations to food. By highlighting these power relations to food in the world food system, it provides a foundation for understanding the current state and foreshadows the future of food systems in the world.

Lakota Decolonial Interventions: Security, Embodied Practice, and Lacan

Justin de Leon, University of Delaware, USA (deleonj@udel.edu)

Ethnographic experiences with the Lakota Sioux on a reservation in the Great Plains informs this exploration of a decolonial framework that places individual and social level transformation into dialogue. Settler colonialism acts as a structure (Wolfe 1999), while at the same time impacting families and individuals. What would a decolonial framework that involves individual and social level engagement look like – a framework that emphasizes embodied practice and the revitalization of traditional ways of being? This essay puts forward a dialectic framework from the writings of Jacques Lacan that informs decolonial praxis and provides a means of intervention upon the foundations of Western philosophical thought.

1.4 Mothers, Victims, and Bodies in Conflict Zones

Women's Political Participation in Egypt's Arab Spring Uprising: 'Bargaining with Patriarchy' and the Deployment of Traditional Motherhood

Anwar Mhajne, University of Cincinnati, USA (anwar.mhajne@gmail.com)

Crystal Whetstone, University of Cincinnati, USA (whetstcm@mail.uc.edu)

Our study examines the role that motherhood played in women's participation in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in order to explore how women's maternal activism or "bargaining with patriarchy" can expand our understanding of feminism. Many feminists have condemned the institution of motherhood as oppressive even as others have stressed the importance of motherhood to their identities as feminists as well as the radicalizing nature of motherhood. In this paper we argue that even traditional gender identities associated with motherhood can challenge the patriarchal authority of the state. This uproots the Western feminist understanding of motherhood as innately oppressive and decolonizes Western-centric understandings of women's political participation. Maternalist forms of feminism are frequently tied to nationalist movements and the 2011 Egyptian case is no exception. We employ discursive analysis to examine news stories and women's social media to tease out the ways that women activists symbolically deployed motherhood in an environment charged with nationalism against the Egyptian state in 2011. This paper

speaks to not only the burgeoning field of Motherhood Studies but also to expanded understanding of feminism that resonate with the global South.

Gendered Victims: Masculinities, Femininities, and Narratives of Harm in the Colombian Armed Conflict

Roxanne Krystalli, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts, USA
(roxani.krystalli@tufts.edu)

When I asked a father whose son had been disappeared why he does not want to participate in the victims' associations and relevant support groups, he responded: "Why would I go...? To be in a room of crying women?" His comment reflects a feminized conception of victimhood, which recurred throughout my research with victims of the armed conflict in Colombia. This feminized notion of victimhood does not, however, necessarily serve female victims. Female research participants discussed an ongoing tension between, on the one hand, the ways in which they could leverage gendered strategic essentialisms to support their claims for conflict-related justice and, on the other hand, the gendered ways in which those same essentialisms limited their role and participation in society during the transition from violence. Drawing on fieldwork with victims of violence in Colombia, this paper focuses on gendered conceptions of victimhood in armed conflict and its aftermath: How is our sense of who deserves recognition as a victim of violence gendered, and what are its gendered implications for the recovery of conflict-affected people? How do feminized imaginations of vulnerability and masculinized expectations of strength and protection affect claims to victimhood? The paper concludes by discussing the implications of these gendered experiences for creating spaces, programs, and justice initiatives that address the needs of victims and resonate with how individuals affected by violence identify themselves and narrate the harm they suffered during the conflict.

Discourses of Protection: 'Womenandchildren' and the Logic of Maternity

Lucy Hall, University of New South Wales, Australia (lucybridget@gmail.com)

This paper explores the gendered logic(s) of protection norms. Feminist scholars of International Relations (IR) and International Law have illustrated the gendered conceptualisation and practice of civilian protection. This paper focuses on the protective 'womenandchildren' discourse (Enloe, 2014) which, as I demonstrate, is underwritten by a logic of maternity. Drawing from extensive archival and interview data, I focus on three case studies: i) The Responsibility to Protect (hereafter RtoP) and ii) frameworks designed to guide the protection of IDPs (the Guiding Principles) and iii) the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. In my analysis of the womenandchildren discourse across these three normative frameworks, I concentrate on what I refer to as the 'logic of maternity'. This logic, I argue, underwrites the conflation of women with children and also underpins the assumption that women's maternal identity takes precedence over other axes of identity (class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, for example.). I explore how the logic of maternity is constructed through and ordered along the public/private divide, demarcating a feminized, depoliticized, domestic space in opposition to a public masculine space - supposedly the space in which politics and by its Clausewitzian extension, war takes place. Furthermore, the gendered hierarchies that construct the logic of maternity posits a feminized preference for safety and peace against a masculinized preference for conflict and violence. In this paper, I reflect on how the logic of maternity functions in the discursive construction of the protection norms of interest here and suggest that it has significant and problematic implications for persons affected by armed conflict and displacement, where individual agency is already compromised. By doing so, I offer a novel perspective on how norms of protection, variously, the Responsibility to Protect, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and Women, Peace and Security, are discursively constructed and how they operate in the space of world politics.

1.5 Talking Back to the West in Theory and Literature

Decolonizing the Muslim Woman: Literary Resistance and Islamic Feminism

Sobia Khan, Richland College, USA (Sobiaak@gmail.com)

In recent times, Muslim women have been the subject of interrogation and questioning both in the Muslim world and in the non-Muslim world. A relentless questioning of their role, subjectivity, and identity has been fair game for both intellectual and popular debate. The “face” of the Muslim woman stares back at the onlooker from the covers of magazines, from orientalized and romanticized visions to that of women suppressed by patriarchy and illiteracy. In each representation, the women are silenced. This presentation highlights literary resistance practiced by Muslim women against colonization and patriarchy from within the worlds they live in. Through the examination of Amina Wadud, an Islamic scholar who propagates an approach to women’s issue in Islam to the idea that “gender justice is essential to the divine order of the universe,” I propose that Islamic feminism is one way of reclaiming the usurped identity of Muslim women. In another case study I examine Afghan women who write poems in secret to express their frustrations and resist the multiple oppressions imposed upon them. In both cases, the women reclaim their identity and dictate a narrative that is constructed by them, and not dictated by the West or cultural patriarchy. Ultimately, the question at stake in this interrogation is how Muslim women reconstruct identity and decolonize their subjectivity through literary narratives in a globalized world.

(In)Visible Desires: Queer Women in African Literature

Therese Migraine-George, University of Cincinnati, USA (therese.migraine-george@uc.edu)

By looking at the works of various African women writers I explore how literature in Africa has been used to foreground complex issues of representation, agency, and subjectivity faced by queer African women. In a June 2014 blog, the Kenyan-based writer Keguro Macharia comments on the exhibition “Critically Queer,” curated by Jabu Pereira and featuring works by a wide range of African visual artists, noting that these works exhibit the “missing,” “obscured,” “exiled,” and “impossible” subjects typically erased by “the fantasy of the known and knowable queer lining up to be counted and documented in a thousand NGO reports.” Macharia points out both the moving and painful challenge and the pleasure fostered by such queer visual representations—the residual byproducts of discourses that fail to take them into account. Similarly, representations of queer African women need to account for the shifting agility of resistant bodies, for their experience of intimacy and pleasure as well as for their strategic ways of fighting pain and suffering. I argue that, through their works, Francophone and Anglophone African women writers—such as Calixthe Beyala, Ken Bugul, Frieda Ekotto, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie—engage a wide range of aesthetic and political strategies to negotiate multifaceted queer representations.

Beyond Islamic vs. Western Feminism: On the Continued Fascination with the ‘Veil’ and the Limits of Feminist Discourse

Kirsten Boles, Claremont Graduate University, USA (kirsten.boles@cgu.edu)

In recent decades, and especially after 9/11/2001, there has been expanded academic interest in what became known as “Islamic feminism”: If “Islamic feminism” exists, how is it practiced, and how does it differ from “Western” feminism? As many scholars note, “feminism” emerged out of specifically Western and secular contexts and therefore may not be suited to represent the multitude of women’s histories it is often expected to bear. I use the work of Asma Barlas, Saba Mahmood, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Margot Badran to take the question of “Islamic feminism” a step further. That is, I will utilize multidisciplinary dimensions to interrogate *why* some working in religion and women’s studies feel the need to address whether notions of “feminism” are compatible with Islamic epistemologies: Why are some feminists invested in identifying “feminism” worldwide? How do issues related to women in Islam become legible objects of feminist inquiry? Why is “feminism” the genre through which knowledge of Muslim women is created? What does adopting a feminist epistemology enable and/or foreclose about how Muslim women experience their religion? Additionally, why do certain issues, like the “veil,” seem to repeatedly congeal around debates concerning “Islamic feminism”? In other words, why, after “the veil” has been so widely discussed, are so many in the West *still* concerned with it, to the point that proposed prohibitions of it show up in Western policymaking as recently as 2015? I will use this perennial example of the “Muslim veil” to demonstrate that debates regarding “Islamic feminism” may reveal less about Islam and Muslim women than they do about national and religious imaginaries implicit in Euro-American feminist thought.

No Longer Caught Between Two Worlds: Towards a Decolonized Feminist Research in the Middle East

Sabiha Allouche, University of London, UK (535558@soas.ac.uk) (presented by video recording)

This paper calls for the de-colonization of feminist research in the Middle East (FRME). FRME often finds itself trapped between ‘talking back’ to Western scholarship, and advancing women’s rights at ‘home’. Most often, this double task is completed by combining thorough ethnographical work with extensive theoretical analyses. Such an approach, however, remains limiting. First, it reiterates a ‘latent Orientalism’ through the reproduction of a Foucauldian cycle of power: both the ‘lesser’ Orient and the ‘higher’ Eurocentric knowledge are re-confirmed through the ‘talking back’. Second, although it is capable of answering many questions on the epistemological level, it does so without questioning the ‘point of origin’ of the knowledge it engages with. That is, it is necessary to re-think and re-situate both time and space in the Middle East following an ‘affective’ perspective. Drawing on recent fieldwork investigating ‘sexual dissidence’ in Lebanon, this paper suggests an ontological turn in FRME, or the ‘commitment to recalibrate the level at which analysis takes place’ (Course 2010). This place is both physical and conceptual. The increased militarization of the Middle East, along with a neo-authoritarian rule are leading to increasingly policed public sphere(s). FRME scholars are hence invited to engage with personal narratives, or knowledge(s)-becoming practices and vice versa, where *subjects* are most likely to emerge. This turn implies that resistance, agency, and knowledge are most likely to be found in emotionally-charged spaces, including kinship, friendship, intimacy, and love, themselves shifting notions, and situate these spaces in relation to imagined better futures. Whether this turn fits in with the ‘willfulness’ of Western academia or not is a leap of faith that must be taken, and only then can the ‘talking’ without the ‘back’, be truly tested.

12:30-2:00pm

Session II Concurrent Panels

II.1 ROUNDTABLE *Thinking About Cynthia Weber’s Queer IR: Sovereignty, Sexuality, and the Will to Knowledge*

Chair: Anne Sisson Runyan, University of Cincinnati, USA (anne.runyan@uc.edu)

Cynthia Weber, University of Sussex, UK (C.Weber@sussex.ac.uk)

Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati, USA (amy.lind@uc.edu)

Laura Sjoberg, University of Florida, USA (sjoberg@ufl.edu)

V. Spike Peterson, University of Arizona, USA (spikep2@gmail.com)

Cricket Keating, Ohio State University, USA (cricketkeating@gmail.com)

This roundtable discusses Cynthia Weber’s agenda-setting book, which asks how "sexuality" and "queer" are constituted as domains of international political practice and mobilized so that they bear on questions of state and nation formation, war and peace, and international political economy. How are sovereignty and sexuality entangled in contemporary international politics? What understandings of sovereignty and sexuality inform contemporary theories and foreign policies on development, immigration, terrorism, human rights, and regional integration? How specifically is "the homosexual" figured in these theories and policies to support or contest traditional understandings of sovereignty? *Queer International Relations* puts international relations scholarship and transnational/global queer studies scholarship in conversation to address these questions and their implications for contemporary international politics.

II.2 Research and Ethics in Feminist Security Studies

Considering Care: A Feminist Approach to Rethinking the Ethics of War

Jillian Terry, London School of Economics, UK (j.a.terry@lse.ac.uk)

Considering Care: A Feminist Approach to Rethinking the Ethics of War

Laura J. Shepherd, University of New South Wales, Australia (l.j.shepherd@unsw.edu.au)

This paper attempts to speak to recent scholarship on critical methodologies in International Relations, notably Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysman's (2014: 596) formulation of methods as 'devices which enact worlds and acts which disrupt particular worlds'. By bringing this literature into conversation with literature on autoethnography and drawing on my own experiences as a researcher in the field of peace and security studies, I discuss the ways in which the professional self is – or, more accurately, the ways in which professional selves are – constituted in the research process. I elaborate on the idea of feminist research ethics, in particular the commitment to reflexive practice, and argue that the moral and ethical complexities present in contemporary war practices are productive of and shaped by the ethical landscape of modern conflict. In particular, conventional viewpoints obscure a central realm of ethical activity in war: the relational and experiential aspects of modern warfare where moral knowledge and understanding are constituted in relation to the needs of others, through a sense of responsibility, awareness, and connectedness with those around us.

To date, dominant ethical approaches to the study of war in International Relations have failed to illuminate the moral and ethical complexities present in contemporary war practices. Such approaches have been unable to account for the changing nature of war and resultant shifts in the ethical landscape of modern conflict. In particular, conventional viewpoints obscure a central realm of ethical activity in war: the relational and experiential aspects of modern warfare where moral knowledge and understanding are constituted in relation to the needs of others, through a sense of responsibility, awareness, and connectedness with those around us.

Feminist & Critical Scholarship on Security: Identifying Potential Synergies
Annick T. R. Wibben,
University of San Francisco, USA

To date, dominant ethical approaches to the study of war in International Relations have failed to illuminate the moral and ethical complexities present in contemporary war practices. As an alternative to these existing approaches, this paper engages in a redescription of feminist ethics premised on the notion of care. The paper constructs a theoretical framework articulating a feminist care ethical vision based in four key areas: relationality, experience, empathy, and responsibility. These points assert the need for a relational ontology; recognize the importance of lived reality and experience; demonstrate a commitment to responsiveness and connection; and acknowledge a responsibility to the needs of particular others as central to morality. Using examples from 21st century conflict, applying this framework exposes the complex web of relationships and experiences that are at work in the ethical decision-making processes of those who participate in and are impacted by war. It uncovers a new articulation of how ethics plays out in international conflict – one that acknowledges our constant interactions as social beings in the world, which continuously shape and reshape moral action.

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To A Hammer or a Nail: The Moral Implications of Political Violence
Michael Loadenthal, University of Cincinnati and Georgetown and George Mason Universities, USA (michael.loadenthal@gmail.com)

The investigation of political violence, especially that occurring below the level of the nation-state, is often relegated to fields such as Politics Science, International Relations, Terrorism Studies, and Criminology. Though these fields offer diverse methodological and epistemological frames, they often stand in stark contrast to so-called critical methods which embrace affect, the challenging of hierarchies, and a desire to excavate marginalized knowledge.

Limited by the orthodoxy of their respective approaches, methods such as Political Science prioritize knowledge extraction, objectivity and detachment, while discouraging emotive interpretation, orientation towards social action, and mutual benefit for respondent communities. In this presentation I would like to offer a set of proscriptions drawn from feminist research methods for use in the analysis of political violence, social movements, and terrorism. Drawing on Kristin Blakley's work with emotion, Nancy Scheper-Hughes' "militant anthropology," and Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber's expansion of standpoint theory, I propose an engaged, reflective approach to the study of political violence that de-centers the state as a primary concern for securitization, and acknowledges the inherently political project of knowledge construction. Through a focus on research ethics, as well as guidelines, I will review the contributions offered by feminist theory, specifically relating this to ethical and methodological concerns one may encounter throughout the research process.

II.3 Narrating the Nation and the International

Regionalism, Neoliberal Globalization, and Post-Colonial Masculinity in Popular Indian Film: "Bhaag Milka Bhaag"

Rina Williams, University of Cincinnati, USA (rina.williams@uc.edu)

Sikata Banerjee, University of Victoria, Canada (sikatab@uvic.ca)

Almost 80 years after India's independence from Britain, dominant cultural narratives negotiate with Anglo-American hegemonic masculinities to challenge a legacy of imperial effeminization that still haunts India. One articulation of this negotiation is the construction of muscular nationalism: an intersection of a specific vision of masculinity with the political doctrine of nationalism, which has become ascendant in India in the context of neoliberal globalization and the rise to political power of right-wing, majoritarian Hindu chauvinism. Muscular nationalism expressed in popular Hindi film through powerful male bodies articulates India's desire to be seen as a serious player on the global stage. We unpack this popular expression of masculinized nationalism in the film biopic *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* [*Run Milkha Run*]: an account of the life of Milkha Singh, an Indian track athlete who is perhaps best known for his 4th-place finish in the 1960 Rome Olympic games, where he had been favored to win gold. The film portrays his failed 1960 Olympic bid as his penultimate race, but then shows his victory over a Pakistani arch-rival later the same year as his ultimate race. We argue that a key message of the film is that to find its place in the global, neoliberal order, India can only "win globally" by "winning regionally," where winning is defined primarily in terms of defeating Pakistan. In the end, our analysis suggests that India still seeks to construct a hegemonic masculine national identity—global and regional—that feminists and scholars must work to deconstruct and decenter.

The Role of Romantic Narratives in IR

Catherine Jean, University of Florida, USA (catvaljean@gmail.com)

Examining the role of narratives is an emerging field of study in IR, particular critical IR. Scholars view narratives as crucial to understanding global politics as it is through narratives that humans impart meaning and create order in the world around them. However, among the scholars who do look at narratives, little attention has been paid to the role romantic narratives play in international politics. Romance, seen as the part of the feminine, emotional and domestic sphere is treated as apolitical. And yet, we are surrounded by romantic narratives. I will explore romantic narratives through U.S./Mid East relations looking particularly at the ways in which authoritarian regimes are romanticized in American media, film and novels. I will demonstrate how U.S. support of these regimes is propelled not only by material interests, but through the romantic role authoritarianism in the Middle East plays in American culture.

Sovereign Love: North Korean Art and Aesthetics of Political Intervention

Shine Choi, University of Mississippi, USA (choi_shine@yahoo.com)

Drawing upon North Korean philosophy and art that inscribe sovereignty, this paper considers the concept of sovereignty as a matter of relations, and more fundamentally as relations of love. This paper interrogates modern

sovereignty as an aesthetic, affect-infused relational condition demanding we revisit IR writings, thinkings and (un)makings of it through a method I tentatively term intercultural/intermedial poetics. A North Korean archive is particularly interesting for what they tell us about (or desire of us as) post-Cold War, postcolonial fissures. I collect, document and reassemble various contemporary North Korean aesthetic objects and writings on paintings, architecture, statues and performances in international circulation that enact North Korean political philosophy (juche). I do so not only to counter the view that the problem of North Korean human rights and refugeeism is a problem of North Korean authoritarianism (exceptional and anachronistic), but also to illustrate what global/intercultural rethinking of IR concepts such as modern sovereignty demands of us. Building on IR scholarship on poetics, aesthetics and relationality, I explore what is gained, and lost, in taking art and its poetics as our object of study and as a method of knowing, doing and being in the world resistive of state power and existing international order.

Past Informs Present: The Lakota Seven Generations Vision (Media Presentation)

Justin de Leon, University of Delaware (deleonj@udel.edu)

The Lakota Seven Generations Vision provides a framework for understanding how past experiences inform a path forward. The Vision suggests that Lakota will experience seven generations of cultural deterioration through persecution, genocide, and cultural suppression. After the seventh generation, a moment of renaissance will mark a new multi-generation period of cultural and spiritual renewal. Seven generations from the late 1960s goes back to the time first Lakota contact with the Lewis and Clark expedition. The Vision places knowledge into a dialectic with experience and action—those generations working towards cultural and spiritual renewal must explore and redress the grievous events of the past. Through this redressing, a path into the future becomes clearer. This eight-minute video explores past experiences of the Lakota through interviews with the descendants of the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. It explores how historical occurrences shape the realities Lakota face today.

II.4 Human Rights, Security, and Governance

Norm Contestations in International Politics: The Case of Women's Rights

Rebecca Sanders, University of Cincinnati, USA (rebecca.sanders@uc.edu)

"Women's rights are human rights" has been the position of the United Nations for decades, articulated in numerous treaties and declarations. Women's economic and political equality, bodily integrity, and access to reproductive healthcare have been rhetorically embraced by a majority of countries that have ratified international human rights conventions. Yet, these developments have been accompanied by a concerted effort by religious and traditionalist state and non-state actors to block and reverse the adoption of international women's rights policies at the domestic level and suppress and rollback articulations of women's rights at the UN. Contrary to optimistic constructivist norm cycle models, the widespread institutionalization of women's rights in domestic and international law has generated ongoing contestation and backlash. Tracing the dynamics of this resistance, the paper sheds light on a significant challenge to the realization of women's rights and reflects on the implications for norm scholarship. There is no inevitable trajectory towards human rights universalism. Rather, norms live and die through practice and can be undone by human rights spoilers.

Violence Against Women and Human Rights Advocacy: A Strategic Lens for Enhanced Ambiguity

Natalie Florea Hudson, University of Dayton, USA (nhudson1@udayton.edu)

(co-authored with Alexandra C. Budabin, University of Dayton, USA

(alexandra.budabin@udayton.edu))

Research on transnational human rights advocacy has grown in recent years, particularly in terms of agenda-setting, mobilization, and "on-the-ground" effects. Scholarship has shown that framing is a vital tactic in interpreting situations as human rights violations, determining responsibility, and promoting solutions. Nowhere has this framing

been more instrumental than in advocacy focused on the rights of women in conflict-affected countries, especially in terms of sexualized violence. This paper will compare the framings of women in conflict in Darfur and the Democratic Republic of Congo by Western advocates during the period 2004-2014. Content analysis will track the presence of narrative framings around genocide, “violence against women”, and rape as a crime of war. Interviews with representative advocacy organizations will provide background to the strategic use of frames for particular conflict situations. This case study raises critical questions about the implications of global power asymmetries when Western advocates mobilize and compete for resources on behalf of distant “women” using frames that may narrow or broaden a human rights issue. In this process, narratives about women’s lives and experiences may be exploited for the interest of transnational human rights advocacy. This feminist research speaks to the conference theme by revealing the power dynamics within advocacy networks, the strategic use of gender-based violence lenses as a mobilization strategy in the process of naming atrocities, the potential depoliticization that occurs with particular narratives, and possible ways to decolonize transnational human rights advocacy focused on violence against women in conflict-affected countries.

The Formulation of Japanese 1325 National Action Plan and Forgetting the ‘Comfort Women’
Hisako Motoyama, Ochanomizu University, Tokyo, Japan (h-motoyama@nifty.com)

The Japanese government recently formulated a national action plan (NAP) to implement the Security Council Resolution 1325, while forcefully legislating the bills which would enable active engagement in wars amid mass protests. I am going to put the formulation of the NAP in context of gendered process of remilitarization of Japan, focusing on how the issues related to the past and present colonialisms including the issue of the “Comfort Women” were discussed and eventually excluded. I will examine how the NAP was formulated under the most militaristic administration, how it opened an unexpected space of engagement for NGOs, and how “gender and security” in Japanese contexts was understood by the government and NGOs differently. The limitations inherent in the Resolution, which incorporates gender into the military-centered hierarchical structures of the international security, did not directly help remilitarization of Japan where the memory of the past imperial wars inhibited the use of military forces. However they allowed the government to adopt the identity of an innocent member of the “international community” that support women in conflict zones without a need to address its own issues of security and gender, which may include issues of militarized and colonial violence. The eventual exclusion of those issues from the NAP shows that for remilitarization of Japan it is inevitable for the state to efface the memory of failed masculinity linked to the past imperial wars.

‘Women are Stronger than Men’: Silence as Misrecognition of and Resistance by Women Ex-Combatants in Post-Apartheid South Africa
Siphokazi Magadla, Rhodes University, South Africa (siphokazi.magadla@gmail.com)

The feminist literature on the gendered nature of post-war demobilisation highlights the socio-political circumstances that contribute to women’s limited participation in these state led processes. It makes visible that women are often under pressure to silence their identity as combatants in order to re-enter civilian life without the negative stigmas that are attributed to women with a military past who are often seen as social deviants in the aftermath of war. Feminists have shown that this undermining of combatant identity has material and symbolic implications as women combatants lose out on state benefits that are meant to assist combatants to better transition into civilian life. It also contributes to women’s erasure in post-war narratives about their contribution to war efforts. In this paper, I examine the silence of women’s narratives in the literature on ex-combatant civilian integration in post-apartheid South Africa. I show that, as elsewhere, the dominant narrative positions ex-combatants as a potential security threat to the state and society - while failing to explain why women ex-combatants have largely not used their military training to hold their communities ransom for their post-war marginalization. I extend on Motsemme’s work (2004) which theorises black women’s silence during apartheid and in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as resistance against the state and as a reproducing dominant views that women’s ‘strength’ allows them to withstand violence and rise above it without becoming social delinquents. Drawing on doctoral research narratives with women who participated in the non-statutory forces of the national liberation movements in South Africa, I suggest that women have been expected to silently transition to civilian life as testament of their strength as women. The interviews also reveal that women articulate the silence on their civilian transition as evidence of their

better coping capacity as compared to their male counterparts. I argue that it is important for feminists to theorise this 'language of silence' as both resistance and misrecognition.

II.5 Women's Identities and Agencies in Turkish and Israeli Politics

Defining European Identity through the Headscarf: Implications for Turkish Politics

Kaitlin Kelly-Thomas, Purdue University, USA (kkellyth@purdue.edu)

Attention to women's rights has increasingly become a tool for states to improve their reputation and position on the global stage (Townes 2010). How women's rights are formulated and ideas concerning women's roles within society also play an important role in constituting the politics of belonging at a societal level (Yuval-Davis 2011). These processes are not necessarily separate. Particularly, when determining both a state's belonging to larger international communities such as the European Union, where states are encouraged to adopt regional norms in order to join the community. The role of the interaction between internal struggles over the politics of belonging and international norms diffusion can be seen clearly through debates surrounding headscarf bans in the European Court of Human Rights, as well as through the impact of European ascension on the Turkish policies towards women. Within these arenas, the construction of Islam as antithetical to women's rights and pious Muslim women's veiling as a threat to the state hinders efforts to address women's concerns while allowing the state to appear concerned with women's oppression

Politics of Women's Rights, Modernity, and an Imperial Past: A Feminist Discourse Analysis of the Current Turkish State

Ayca Mazman, University of Cincinnati, USA (acyamazman@gmail.com)

Turkey is a unique experiment in democracy with its predominantly Muslim population, and secular, representational multi-party system. It is difficult to claim that this experiment in democracy has been successful but it is also hardly a complete failure especially when we look at the legal framework it provided, specifically with respect to the women's rights. My paper focuses on the discourse of the current government on women's rights as I claim it is an indication of the collision between the patriarchal framework provided by political Islam and strict secularist ideals which are almost impossible to satisfy. On the other hand, while the historical clash between Islamic values and Western ideals goes as early as the times of the Ottoman Empire, I claim that the causal-historical political frameworks suggest that the severity of the clash as it is popularized today is a political fabrication, and there are several reasons why its current epicenter is the discussion on women's position in the society. In return, the current government's discourse on women's rights coincides with the increase in violence against women and femicides, but correlation is obviously not causation. Yet, one might claim that the harsh politicized patriarchal discourse sold as Islamic values is a contributing factor to this increase. Following this line of thinking, there has been significant push-back from some civil society organizations which have been formed as a result of the increase in femicides. My paper includes an analysis of some of these civil society groups and movements they participate in.

'The Occupation Shelf': Listening to Women Activists Writers Positionalities regarding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Yael Levi Hazan (hazanya@post.bgu.ac.il), Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel (co-authored with Ayelet Harel-Shalev, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel (ayeletsh@bgu.ac.il) and Shir Daphna-Tekoah, Ashkelon Academic College, Israel (Shir.dt@gmail.com))

This study offers an analysis of four Israeli women writers' perspectives vis-à-vis their role as women writers and activists, with regard to the Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The study includes: Amira Hass, "Drinking the Sea at Gaza", 1996 (in English: "Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege", 2000); Daphna Golan-Agnon, "Where am I in this Story?", 2002 (in English: "Next

Year in Jerusalem”, 2005); Lia Nirgad, “Winter in Qalandia”, 2004; and Rela Mazali, “Home Archaeology”, 2011. In their non-fiction writings, these four writers document their everyday lives and political perspectives about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and their socio-political activism and resistance to the Israeli occupation. These four writers were interviewed regarding their perspectives and struggles. The interviews were analyzed by applying Carol Gilligan's methodology- the “Listening Guide” in order to identify multilayered voices. This study wishes to uncover additional forms of knowledge regarding women writers and activists' positionality in a colonial situation in conflict zones. This study emphasizes the importance of women citizens' narratives and points of view, by highlighting *positionality* as a powerful tool for presenting critical insights on conflict, activism and writing. In the context of a National-Zionist-Militarized Israeli Ethos, their narratives stand as counter-narratives that de-center the Israeli hegemonic masculinity and demand not only a critique of the national ideology, but also suggest critical perspectives on gender, feminism, war and peace.

2:30-4pm Session III Concurrent Panels

III.1 ROUNDTABLE Challenging State Genderwashing and Pinkwashing I

Chair: Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati, USA (amy.lind@uc.edu)

Pascha Bueno-Hansen, University of Delaware, USA (pbh@udel.edu)

Therese Migraine-George, University of Cincinnati, USA (therese.migraine.george@uc.edu)

Cricket Keating, Ohio State University, USA (cricketkeating@gmail.com)

Rina Williams, University of Cincinnati, USA (rina.williams@uc.edu)

This is the first of two linked roundtables addressing two related phenomena: (1) How pinkwashing and genderwashing strategies are deployed by states throughout the world, and (2) How intellectuals and activists have developed counter-narratives to challenge the appropriation of “LGBT-friendly” and/or “women-friendly” rhetoric in the name of nation-building, progress, sovereignty, anti-westernization, and/or modernization. Participants will address how these issues play out in diverse contexts and geopolitical regions, including in Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. An important goal of this roundtable is to consider strategies used to counter hegemonic narratives of LGBT rights and women’s rights as they have been strategically linked to, and embedded in, agendas of western(ized) modernization and development strategies focused on empowerment. A related goal is to understand how notions of gender and sexuality themselves circulate and construe distinct meanings across cultural, racial, class, and geopolitical boundaries.

III.2 Indigenous Resistances and Decolonization in the Americas

Charting Decolonial Options: Mapping a Cartography of Struggle with Ingrid Washinawatok El-Issa

Sandra C. Alvarez, Chapman University, USA (salvarez@chapman.edu)

This paper maps a cartography of struggle to document the dynamic, living legacy of Menominee leader, Ingrid Washinawatok El-Issa and her contribution to the decolonial possibilities of transnational feminism. It suggests that mapping cartographies of struggle is a useful way for movements to consider how the past informs the present and future possibilities of resistance and decoloniality. Washinawatok is most remembered for her work in movements for Indigenous rights and sovereignty in the United States and at the United Nations and other international fora. Unfortunately, many also know her for her tragic death in Colombia at the hands of so-called left-wing guerrillas in 1999 when working in solidarity with the U’wa people. I map a cartography of struggle from within the transnational relations that exist between the U’wa people and the peoples related to Washinawatok. I conceptually map Washinawatok’s vision to demonstrate how her practices and discourse reveal a cartography of Indigenous resistance by tracing the spaces of making and exercising power from the smallest of spaces to the United Nations. This mapping reveals three dimensions that illustrate the decoloniality of Ingrid Washinawatok’s vision: time,

knowledge, and geography. This cartography of struggle goes beyond static notions of geographical locations frozen in time to remember resistance from the past and how that informs peoples' struggles today and for the future. Her thought arises from generations of ancestral knowledge to challenge Eurocentric knowledge formations. Her practice reveals models of organizing for self-determination based on Indigenous relational knowledges.

Disposable Waste, Lands, and Bodies: Racialized and Gendered Zones of Sacrifice under Canada's Nuclear Colonialism

Anne Sisson Runyan, University of Cincinnati, USA (anne.runyan@uc.edu)

While nuclear power disasters, from Three Mile Island to Chernobyl to Fukushima, have led to some turns away from this form of energy, this is not the case in Canada. Beyond the specter of nuclear accidents is the problem of nuclear waste. This raises serious questions as to what and who is disposable on the altar of this industry and who decides this. This paper examines recent and ongoing governmental and corporate efforts to site deep geological repositories (DGRs) for disposal of all of Canada's nuclear waste on the shores of Lake Huron near Canada's Bruce plant, rendering this Great Lakes region, including its lands, waters, and peoples on both sides of the Canada-US border, disposable. It also examines local and transnational resistance to this, led especially by women and First Nations in the area. This resistance, I argue, is informed by and corresponds with resistances to the now halted US DGR in Nevada, critiqued by activists and scholars as part of the process of North American "nuclear colonialism," a government and corporate-led system of domination that undermines indigenous peoples and lands to sustain nuclear production (Churchill and LaDuke 1992) and as a "zone of sacrifice," referring to a geographic area and mostly marginalized peoples in it that are rendered disposable by environmental damage resulting from corporate practices (Klein 2014). I also argue this activism is consistent with findings that women tend to most oppose and lead efforts against toxic waste and the male-dominated industries that produce it (Lerner 2010).

Intersectionality: Applying Crenshaw to War and Commercial Powers in the Imperial Acquisition of Hawai'i

Mariah Zeisberg, University of Michigan, USA (mzeisberg@gmail.com)

Can Kimberly Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality be fruitfully applied in legal studies to matters outside of identity politics? This paper is a first attempt to explore the power of the concept of intersectionality to analyze forms of oppression that are not primarily identity-based. Using a case study of the U.S. imperial takeover of Hawai'i, I examine how the legally-valid use of the president's power to direct troop movements "intersected" with Congress' legally-valid use of its power to regulate foreign and domestic commerce, together creating a collapse in the Hawaiian economy, a perception of U.S. power behind the planter elites in Hawaiian society at that time, and ultimately the destruction of indigenous Hawai'ian self-rule. In this case of Hawai'ian subjection to imperial power, intersecting systems of power created a form of oppression that simply cannot be perceived without understanding the complexity of how valid legal pronouncements interact symbolically and materially to produce an experience of domination. I make a provisional case that the concept of "intersectionality" adds to our theoretic understanding of this case, teasing out parallels and contrasts between the use of this concept in this case and Crenshaw's original usage of the terms, and show how applying the case study to Hawai'ian acquisition opens up new questions about what resistance to the politics of intersectional oppression means today.

Decolonizing Indigenous Lands and Indigenous Women's Bodies

Teresa Szeghi, University of Dayton, USA (tszeghi1@udayton.edu)

Drawing upon the scholarship of Creek legal scholar, Sarah Deer, and groundbreaking ecofeminist scholar Annette Kolodny, this paper addresses the ways that indigenous women's bodies and indigenous lands continue, in interconnected ways, to be continued sites of colonization. I assess the ways that Louise Erdrich, with her 2012 novel, *The Round House*, exposes this history and sustained reality with the overt aim of effecting social change. At the same time, Erdrich offers a forceful critique of dominant (Western-derived) human rights instruments that both fail to account for indigenous epistemologies, values, and experiences, while perpetuating the disempowerment of

indigenous people. I argue that Erdrich's novel illuminates critical reforms needed both to U.S. law and to the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

III.3 Women and Decolonizing Peacebuilding

Tackling Neoliberal Post-War Reconstruction Models: The Post-2015 Agenda for Women, Peace, and Security

Carol Cohn, University of Massachusetts Boston, USA (carol.cohn@umb.edu)

(co-authored with Claire Duncanson, University of Edinburgh, UK (C.P.Duncanson@ed.ac.uk))

Despite the 15 years that have passed since United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000) officially recognized that peacebuilding is inextricably linked with gender equality, post-war reconstruction efforts largely continue to deepen – rather than ameliorate – gendered structural inequalities. An emerging analysis of this quandary within feminist security studies scholarship shows that this occurs, in part, because attention to gender equity founders when it comes up against the neoliberal agenda that dominates post-war reconstruction efforts. While pointing out the gendered harms of such neoliberal strategies, feminist security studies has, to date, given little attention to what an alternative post-war reconstruction strategy might look like. Drawing on the work of feminist political economists, this paper suggests ways in which the Women, Peace and Security agenda can (and indeed must) engage in transforming the political economy of peacebuilding if it is to contribute to sustainable and inclusive peace.

Decolonising Gender and Peacebuilding: Feminist Frontiers and Border Thinking in Africa

Heidi Hudson, University of the Free State, South Africa (hudsonh@ufs.ac.za)

The paper seeks to theorise an integrated decolonised feminist frame for peacebuilding in an African context. Arguing that a decolonial-feminist lens has the potential to change the way we look at peacebuilding practices, I propose the notion of 'feminist frontiers' – an engaged yet stabilising heuristic tool for analysing racialised and gendered relations post-conflict. The argument is structured around three pillars, namely metageographies as metaphoric mental-space constructions of a colonial peace; masks that constrain the introduction of complicated and intersected human subjecthoods; and mundane matter that elicits ambivalent engagements between human and post-human subjectivities in the areas of everyday political economies and infrastructural rule of peacebuilding. I conclude that such feminist frontiers represent intermediate and mediated spaces or epistemological borderlands from where the undertheorised and empirically understudied discursive and material dimensions of peacebuilding from a gender perspective can be investigated

Rebuilding Peace and Security for Women: Using 'Feminist' Social Capital Theory to Make Sense of Women's Activism and Peacebuilding

Rubi Devi, University of Southern Mississippi, USA (rubidevi@gmail.com)

In peace and conflict literature, women have been portrayed both as victims and perpetrators of war-time violence. Women have also been actors in social change, peace and community building in many conflict and post conflict societies. The mainstream literature in the IR, Peace and Conflict Studies either dismiss or overlook the role and contribution of grassroots women's groups and their activism in peace and community building. The feminist security and IR scholars have discussed the concepts of feminist security and peace building and debated the connection between women's activism and peace and community building. This paper explores the theoretical and methodological debates associated with women's activism and peace and security at the grassroots level. Further, it attempts to place social capital theory at the center of women's activism and peace-building discussion. A feminist sense of social capital theory to assess women's contribution to peace building seems to bridge the existing gaps in available literature. This paper reviews the connection between women's activism and peace-building with special reference to India's northeast.

III.4 Women and Political Representation

Swedish Parliamentarians with an Immigrant Background: “Hegemonic Swedishness” or United Diversity?

Gunnhildur Lily Magnusdottir, Malmö University, Sweden
(gunnhildur.lily.magnusdottir@mah.se)

This article explores how immigrant women are represented within the two largest parliamentary parties in Sweden and Denmark; within the Swedish and Danish Social democrats, the Swedish Moderates; and the Danish Liberals, in 2010-2015. Apart from exploring the descriptive representation of immigrant women in the Swedish and Danish parliaments we explore whether immigrant representation results in diverse views on immigration within the parties in question. We investigate whether different identities and experiences are recognized or whether female politicians with an immigrant background assimilate and adapt their views, in cases where their views might deviate, to the general party lines. Denmark and Sweden are interesting due to differences in public discourse and migration politics despite historical, cultural and socioeconomic commonalities. Sweden has hitherto emphasized liberal multiculturalism while Danish migration policy and discourse are more focused on assimilation. Our theoretical underpinnings are based on intersectionality and historical and feminist institutionalism, specifically the politics of presence, which explores the link between a critical mass in politics and critical acts. Our first findings are mixed. The number of immigrant parliamentarians does not reach the level of foreign-born citizens in Sweden or in Denmark. Nevertheless, all parties allow for diverse views on immigrant politics that deviates to some extent from the general party lines.

Female Muslim Political Leadership: A Case Study of Its Compatibility with the Qur’an Eveline Gnabasik, Claremont Graduate University, USA (eveline.gnabasik@cgu.edu)

This paper argues that Islam does provide ample opportunity for women to become political leaders. It begins with an analysis of Islam itself, and argues that it is actually equitable in its treatment of the genders. The use of Islam as a means to restrict women bastardizes the teachings of the Qur’an and ultimately weakens Muslim societies. Specifically, the paper argues that poor social capital has led to a culture that represses women, as opposed to viewing Islam as oppressive to women. In order to illustrate my argument, I will provide case studies of Muslim, female leaders and the countries from which they come, paying particular attention to how they reconciled their Muslim faith with their public leadership positions. In particular, this paper will focus on three female, Muslim leaders: Benazir Bhutto, Masoumeh Ebtekar, and Tansu Ciller. Ultimately, the paper will show that true interpretation of the Qur’an does allow for female political leadership alongside a devout Muslim society. This paper fits nicely with the theme of this conference because it seeks to address with compatibility of female, political leadership within the conceptual framework of the female outlined in the Qur’an. This paper approaches the role of women from a Qur’anic context and takes a postcolonial perspective in order to properly investigate and show the fullness of the political role available to Muslim women.

Egypt’s Management of Women Representation in Transitional Democracy Salwa Thabet, Future University in Egypt (sthabet@fue.edu.eg)

Managing women’s representation is envisaged as an important building block to promote gender mainstreaming in periods of transition to democracy. Across Egypt, for decades, since women have been granted the right to run for parliament in 1956, they have continued to be underrepresented in the parliament and local councils as well as other decision-making levels. Egypt’s international ranking for women in the parliament has been among the lowest compared to other countries. However, post January 25 Revolution and June 30 Revolution, vying towards increasing women’s representation at decision-making levels has become indispensable to build a modern civil democratic Egypt through a more inclusive development approach. In the Egyptian parliament 2015, representation of women has hit the highest record in the history of Egyptian parliament, 14.9% a promising starting point to hover around the critical mass. It draws on data to discuss related trends and issues. The study emphasizes the importance of a participatory approach to promote women’s representation, highlighting the roles and interactions of

government, civil society organizations as well as media as key national actors. In this context, it attempts to overview opportunities and challenges shaping the environment influencing women's political participation. The study investigates the Egyptian Parliament 2015 as a case study analyzing its structural diversity especially of women's representation and whether it could lead to active representation reflected in leadership and decision-making roles. It analyzes mechanisms and critical success factors in promoting women's representation in Egypt and how they form a building block for an effective development methodology which could achieve sustainable advancement of women's status in the political realm.

III.5 Decolonizing Ethnographies and Life Stories

Translated Woman: Neoliberal Personhood, Ethnographic Subjects, and the Potential for Feminist Representation

Miranda Cady Hallett, University of Dayton, USA (mhallett1@udayton.edu)

Life histories have a long tradition in feminist ethnography. They are frequently deployed to “decolonize” texts or complicate the authoritative voice through multivocality. Feminist ethnographers (ex. Ruth Behar, Karen McCarthy Brown) have claimed that attention to lived experience, and the valuing of life history as valid forms of knowledge is inherently feminist. However, representations that assert a liberatory or decolonizing intent cannot be taken at face value; such narratives may also entail a reification of the neocolonial relations embedded in much ethnographic narrative, or exploit the “authenticity” of the “native” to build authority. This paper draws on the history of feminist life history narratives in cultural anthropology to explore questions of the decolonization of feminist knowledges. I also examine my own ethnographic life history work portraying Central American women migrants' subjectivity as critical components of contemporary regimes of capitalist production. Based on two years of fieldwork among Salvadoran migrants in rural Arkansas, I describe an form of feminized personhood exemplifying the “ideal neoliberal worker,” working tirelessly on the disassembly lines and sacrificing health to company profit. The affective embrace of work provides women an embodied “docile agency” (Mahmood 2005) in a context where Latino immigrants are stigmatized. How do the rhetorical devices of feminist ethnography-- particularly those foregrounding life history narratives-- entail both pitfalls and opportunities when it comes to decentering Western feminist accounts of global exploitation? How do the analytical content and form of my own project provide points of entry into the fraught dynamics of gendered ethnographic representations?

Decolonizing My Hair, Unshackling My Curls: An Autoethnography on What Makes My Natural Hair Journey a Black Feminist Statement

Carolette Norwood, University of Cincinnati, USA (carolette.norwood@uc.edu)

In the last 15 years there has been an unmistakable movement among Black women to “go natural”. Motivations for going natural are as diverse as Black women are themselves. My motivation was decidedly personal and political, and is an explicit Black Feminist statement. For me going natural was about resisting oppressive messages the derogatorily defined the natural Black feminine aesthetic as unappealing unprofessional, and or undesirable. For me, going natural was about reclaiming health and self-definition. Black women have resisted oppression historically with their pen in published print; on picket lines with their feet; on trolleys, trains and buses by taking seats (not reserved for them); with their voice in song and poetic protest and like them, I and other Black women are making a Black feminist stance (consciously or unconsciously) by symbolically shedding those chemical shackles that press curly roots into straight submission. There is an unquestionable buzz in US Black women's communities about this trending “natural” phenomenon. In 2013, Mintel's Black Consumer and Haircare Executive summary estimated that 2 out of 3 US Black women wore their hair in a “natural” style. The market for chemical relaxers has experienced a sharp and steady decline in sells, dropping 34% since 2009. A Black feminist theoretical framework will be utilized as a lens for understanding my lived experience of going “natural” with regards to modes of oppression and methods of resistance.

Immigrant Motherhood and Diasporic Colonialism in the Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao

Sagnika Chanda, University of Pittsburgh, USA (sac204@pitt.edu) (presented by video recording)

I examine the immigrant woman of color's fraught relationship to mothering children within an overtly white diaspora that serves to erase the struggles she faces as part of the global, capitalistic work force. In *The Reproduction of Mothering*, Nancy Chodorow posits that mothers and daughters share a unique identificatory relationship that is narcissistic in nature. The daughter identifies with the perceived lack of the mother and it triggers a negative identification with the mother as a continuation of her self. I argue that the relationship between the subjugated mother of color, her daughter and the figure of the father is doubly oppressed owing to a negative relation to the male hypersexual colonizing authority in her homeland and the white male master once she migrates and tries to assimilate into the white diaspora. I investigate the relationship between the adverse effects of the daughter's negative identification with the mother and colonialist discourses of racism and sexism that informs the mother-daughter relationship by examining the ideas of hyperfemininity, ideals of whiteness, assimilation and motherhood as performed by a third world immigrant woman of color. For this purpose, I focus on the relationship between Belicia Cabral and her daughter Lola in Junot Diaz's novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. I conclude by showing how it is through a display of decolonizing practices of mothering and rejection of the scripts of hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity imposed by White and Dominican modes of colonialism that Diaz envisions a feminist decolonization.

III.6 Interrogating and Navigating Political Homophobias, Economic Homotolerance, and Homonormativity

Queer Development Studies?

Corinne Mason, Brandon University, Canada (MasonC@brandon.ca)

The development industry now cares about LGBT rights. The United Nations launched the "Free and Equal" campaign in 2013 to create global awareness of homophobic and transphobic violence and discrimination. The World Bank published its first report on the cost of homophobia in 2014, subsequently, the organization began the process of reviewing their safeguards to standardize protect mechanism for LGBT people in all major projects. In 2015, the United States appointed the first-ever Special Envoy for the Human Rights of LGBT Persons and the first LGBT Coordinator of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) who "will expand and implement long-term strategies to address the homophobia that underlies discrimination against LGBTI persons." Finally, United States-based Human Rights Campaign (HRC), which supports domestic LGBT rights on such issues as marriage equality and military inclusion, are now looking to expand their work beyond national boundaries. Even the World Bank is now counting the cost of homophobia on development. Such forays into what we might call 'homotolerance' is untrodden territory for the development industry. Scholars in critical and feminism development studies, including Andrea Cornwall, Susie Jolly, Amy Lind, Kate Beford, and Sonia Corrêa have been writing about the need to pay attention to gender and sexuality since the early 2000s. Now that the development industry has "caught up" to the 'sexuality question,' does development studies need to be queered? Can there, or maybe, should there, be a field of queer development studies? This presentation will outline a set of conversations, dialogues, sites and lines of inquiry and flight, at the intersections of queer theory/queer transnational critique/post and critical development studies.

Population Racism and 'African Homophobia' in Transnational Imaginaries

Ashley Currier, University of Cincinnati, USA (ashley.currier@uc.edu)

In 2015, the magazine *Foreign Policy* declared Nigeria to be the world's "most homophobic country," apparently supplanting Uganda and Russia for this dubious honor. The British Broadcasting Corporation named Uganda as the world's "worst place to be gay" in a 2011 documentary. The urge to rank nations, such as Gambia, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, based on the virulence of politicized homophobia motivates the ill-conceived ranking of nations as the "worst" places in the world to be queer. In this presentation, I treat the tendency to isolate politicized homophobia in certain world regions, such as the African continent, as reproducing and consolidating a ranking of favored nations and reproducing the image of "Africa" as morally bankrupt and sexually

backward. Contemporary, transnational imaginaries tend to hold that Africans are homophobes and that northern countries are beacons of social and political progress. Ranking nations based on how progressive or retrogressive their policies on gender and sexual diversity are bolsters homonationalism, a form of nationalist “sexual exceptionalism” that rewards governments with gay-affirmative laws and policies (Puar 2007, 39). In addition, this ranking system emphasizes “only certain ‘human rights violations,’” thereby . . . “implicitly valoriz[ing], as points of comparison, the supposedly humane countries” (Patton 2002, 200). This conflation enacts and reinforces a form of “population racism” that may not only result in negative economic sanctions for “unruly” African nations but may also exacerbate antigay backlashes against local queer activists perceived to be participating in the impugning of their nation’s reputation (Clough and Willse 2010, 50). I mean my criticism not to endorse politicized homophobia in some African nations, but rather to point out what is at stake in transnational feminist and queer politics when implying that an entire continent is “homophobic.”

Securing the Queer Refugee: Asylum Policies in the UK vs. America

Jamie Hagen, University of Massachusetts Boston, USA (jamie.hagen@gmail.com)

The global governance question of refugee resettlement remains a contested one. How the LGBTQ population fair in this flux remains largely overlooked, despite the particular vulnerabilities experienced by the group. This paper will engage with feminist security studies literature and a queer theory lens to illustrate the unique needs of the LGBTQ population and the necessary policy implications for meeting these needs today. This a particularly relevant conversation in a conference about the implications of decolonizing projects where Western states make broad statements about the need for international human rights for LGBTQ individuals and the policy ramifications and responsibilities of those states in making that a reality in the form of asylum policy. The author intends to make a comparative analysis of the process of screening same-sex couples in the UK to the screening process for same-sex couples in America. The American 2015 refugee policy for the first time makes allowances for people in same-sex couples to seek asylum. But how will people establish themselves as being part of a 'legitimate' homosexual relationship in need of protection by another state? Some practices such as a requirement of video evidence of sexual activity, used in some cases in the UK, raise serious ethical questions on behalf of the role of the state offering security. This paper look to LGBTQ organizations that have long worked with LGBTQ asylum cases such as Heartland International to report best practices and assess how/if these best practices are applied in both America and the United Kingdom.

4:15-5:45pm Session IV Concurrent Panels

IV.1 ROUNDTABLE Challenging State Genderwashing and Pinkwashing II

Chair: Pascha Bueno-Hansen, University of Delaware, USA (pbh@udel.edu)

Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati, USA (amy.lind@uc.edu)

Maria Amelia Viteri, Universidad de San Francisco, Ecuador (mviteri@usfq.edu.ec)

Ashley Currier, University of Cincinnati, USA (ashley.currier@uc.edu)

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This is the second of two linked roundtables addressing two related phenomena: (1) How pinkwashing and genderwashing strategies are deployed by states throughout the world, and (2) How intellectuals and activists have developed counter-narratives to challenge the appropriation of “LGBT-friendly” and/or “women-friendly” rhetoric in the name of nation-building, progress, sovereignty, anti-westernization, and/or modernization. Participants will address how these issues play out in diverse contexts and geopolitical regions, including in Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. An important goal of this roundtable is to consider strategies used to counter hegemonic narratives of LGBT rights and women’s rights as they have been strategically linked to, and embedded

in, agendas of western(ized) modernization and development strategies focused on empowerment. A related goal is to understand how notions of gender and sexuality themselves circulate and construe distinct meanings across cultural, racial, class, and geopolitical boundaries.

IV.2 Women, Work, and Workplace Discrimination in the Global Political Economy

Organizing Domestic Workers in Urban Ecuador

Erynn Masi de Casanova, University of Cincinnati, USA (erynn.casanova@uc.edu)

Based on fieldwork and interviews with members of Ecuador's pioneer organization of paid domestic workers from 2010-2015, this paper considers the challenges that these activists face in improving working conditions for members of a precarious and informal workforce. First, outreach is made difficult by the long working hours of domestic workers and the sizable population of live-in employees. Second, because of the predominance of informal employment arrangements and the invisibility of work conducted in private homes, enforcement of existing labor laws applicable to domestic workers is nearly impossible. In addition, employers may not see themselves as such, which challenges assumptions about the relationship between capital and labor. Third, the state, while initially bringing attention to domestic worker issues, has been an unreliable ally. The domestic workers' organization studied tackles these challenges through a variety of strategies, especially re-defining paid domestic work as "regular work". While it aims to put domestic workers on equal legal footing with other workers, this strategy obscures the fact that the most oppressive aspects of domestic work are those that distinguish it from other types of paid work. I suggest that the unique characteristics of the paid work of social reproduction may require organizing strategies different from those used by workers employed in formal capitalist production.

Women's Rights as More than Just Human Rights: Corporate Responsibility and the Advancement of Gender-Based Rights

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In today's globalized neoliberal international system, the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has gained renewed attention and now represents a burgeoning field of research. CSR spans a variety of activities, from corporate philanthropy to the incorporation of socially responsible practices into company operations and supplier chains. CSR strategies also have the potential to contribute to the creation and/or strengthening of social rights, particularly within the host state. Focusing specifically on the extractive industries sector, we highlight how CSR strategies can be used to advance the issue of women's rights in the host state. While extractive industries (e.g. mining, drilling, logging, etc.) are often known for their negative effects on local communities and ecosystems, there is also evidence that CSR can lead multinational corporations to refrain from human rights abuses and strengthen domestic human rights norms. Leader (1999, 2006) shows that private investment, stakeholder interests as well as a strong negotiating position on the part of the state can encourage more CSR strategies to create provisions for the protection of human rights. However, a focus on "human rights" broadly conceived may not always strengthen the rights of particular groups, such as women. With the extractive industries market projected to grow over the next decade, (Grosser and Moon 2004) and developing countries rich in extractive resources are in a unique position to benefit, not just economically but also socially. However, while women's rights are recognized as human rights internationally (Bunch 1990), local cultural variations often mean that women's rights are not considered part of the larger human rights discourse. Focusing on the African region and using a combination of gendered lenses and case study analysis, we argue that CSR strategies which lead to the implementation of human rights provisions within the host state must also include provisions specific to gender-based rights. Strengthening women's rights not only contributes to stronger human rights norms, it also contributes to higher productivity increased economic growth, stronger social welfare provisions and greater human security.

Gender and Work in the Post-2007 Global Economy

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(co-authored with Mary Frederickson, Emory University, USA (mary.frederickson@emory.edu))

The 2007- 2008 economic recession imparted new urgency to processes long underway: movements of labor, capital and technology, the decline of western—especially U.S.—economic hegemony, the end of economic nationalism, and the race to the bottom in wages and working conditions. This co-authored paper will address the central question, “How are women shaping the post recession global economic landscape through their labor, activism, and multiple discourses about work?” This paper presents a gendered examination of work in the global economy, analyze the effects of the 2008 global economic downturn on women’s labor force participation and workplace activism, and analyze the impacts of geopolitical economic transformations on the gendering of work in country-specific and regional contexts. The paper addresses three broad themes: exploitation versus opportunity for women within the context of racist and patriarchal structures of global capitalism and the international division of labor; women’s agency within the context of changing local and regional economic options; and women’s negotiations and re-negotiations of unpaid social reproductive labor.

Decolonizing U.S. Discrimination Law by Decentering the White Male Norm: A Postmodern Analysis

Emily Meyer, University of Cincinnati, USA (meyer2es@mail.uc.edu)

This paper explores the practice of decentering U.S. Title VII workplace discrimination claims from the Western employee norm that is white, cis, male, and heterosexual. In particular, it traces Devon Carbado and Mitu Gulati’s proposed use of identity performance theory as an extension of intersectionality in support of a Title VII cause of action. The paper reviews the relevant case law and analyzes the effectiveness of such a legal strategy in terms of what has worked and what has not. As well as racial and gender identity categories, this paper investigates the identity performance theory as applied to queer identities in the workplace.

IV.3 Disrupting Normativities: The Politics of Assimilation and Difference

Transnational Policy Diffusion and Same-Sex Marriage in Latin America

Julie Moreau, Northern Arizona University, USA (julie.moreau@nau.edu)

Over the past 7 years, policies recognizing same-sex relationships have been adopted in 6 Latin American countries. Political scientists suggest that this is a result of “policy diffusion” and focus on why and how this becomes possible. Same-sex marriage has been a preoccupation of many North American queer theorists who are less focused on causal mechanisms behind the adoption of policy, and more focused on its implications for the constitution of sexual subjects and the priorities of lesbian and gay organizations. Both of these perspectives tend to assume what marriage means and how marriage policies influence (or not) the construction of sexual identities and coalitions. Without a contextual account of the manner in which identity and policy interact, we will not be able to assess either the causal mechanisms behind policy adoption or their normative consequences. Based on in-depth qualitative interviews with Paraguayan activists, this paper seeks to understand whether or not Argentine influence on the Paraguayan lesbian and gay movement to pursue same-sex marriage altered Paraguayan activists’ understandings of what it means to be “gay” or “lesbian,” and possibilities for working in an identity-based coalition. This paper offers an ethnographic account of tensions in maintaining coalitions on the basis of sexual identity that challenges Euro-American understandings of the operation of sexual identity and developmentalist notions that policy always diffuses from the global North to global South.

'Increasing Disruptions': Engaging Queer Theory and Assimilation Politics in a Shifting US Military Culture

Christina Luiggi, Wright State University, USA (puntasecca.2@wright.edu)

With the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) in 2011 and the current Department of Defense (DOD) Transgender policy review, the U.S. Military is undergoing historic policy changes regarding sexual orientation and gender identity inclusion. Liz Montegary (2015) published a critique of the Human Rights Campaign’s (HRC)

assimilatory practices in their DADT repeal campaign, challenging queer activists and scholars to “devise strategies for intensifying the queer disruptions already at play within US Homonormativities.” In this paper, I expand on Montegary’s critique through analysis of government policies and queer activist approaches to homonormativities present within DOD Transgender Policy initiatives. I critique the institutionally enforced gender binary present in DOD transgender policy’s terminology and the medical normalization of transgender veterans, while asserting that nonbinary service member needs cannot be sacrificed in order to obtain rights for normalized LGBTQ community members. I also explore the possibilities of disrupting normativities in a radical attempt to create equity, and the effect of disruptions to military practices through a queer presence within the military. Presenting the commonalities shared between queer service members and people deemed “enemies of the state,” I demonstrate the power of rejecting dehumanization of both groups in combating imperialism, colonization, and racialization of other cultures. Ultimately, this paper engages a critique of military LGBTQ assimilation politics while laying theoretical foundations for future work exploring identity dynamics within the military, and the effects of military and veteran services on queer service members.

Re-examining the Equality/Difference Debate in an Intersectional and Decolonial Frame
Jakeet Singh, Illinois State University, USA (jsingh3@ilstu.edu)

In this paper, I revisit a debate that was central to feminist theory in the 1980s and 90s: the equality/difference debate(s). While this debate eventually gave way to concerns over the ‘essentialism’ of difference-based claims, I argue that the basic dynamic captured by this debate was a crucial one, especially for understanding anti-oppression politics. While this debate was not sufficiently attentive to an intersectional understanding of power, it was nonetheless significant in recognizing that axes of oppression/difference are not only sites of structural inequalities and exclusions, but also sources of alternative knowledges, ethics, normativities, and futures. I argue that questions of equality/difference need to recuperated within intersectional frameworks, in which each intersecting axis of power (or combination of axes) can raise a complex variety of equality/difference debates. I illustrate this point by thinking about decolonial feminisms, and arguing that decolonial thought itself raises a distinctive set of equality/difference questions with which it is crucial for feminists to grapple.

On the Periphery: Construction of Identity through ‘Otherness’ in Feminist and Post-Colonialist Discourse
Ceren Hamiloglu, UCL, London, UK (cerenhamiloglu@gmail.com) (presented by video recording)

The need to categorize *the other* comes from *the self*. The notion of the other performs as an agent in the construction and division of gender and national identities in both feminist and post-colonial studies. Feminism and post-colonialism are the areas where the notion of the other is strongly observable as a triggering force for the individual and society’s actions towards those who are outside the dominant category. In this essay, themes of language, voice, visibility, space, representation of the self and differentiation from the other will be driven from the comparison of the two areas, mainly focusing on Judith Butler’s *Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire* and also Gayatri C. Spivak’s *Can the Subaltern Speak?* in supporting the idea. The review and comparison of the texts aim to answer the following question(s): “How is the sexual/national/cultural identity constructed through otherness?”, as well as, “How has the distinction been made between *the self* and *the other* in feminist or post-colonial studies?” and “What is the role of representation and space in these accounts in terms of shaping otherness?” The two texts were chosen specifically because both of them include marginalized subjects, discuss the notion of the other as an exploration process for the positioning of the oppressed and bear similarities in their deconstructivist approach towards the subjects.

IV.4 Violences, Insurgencies, and Masculinities

Putting the Man in the Machine: Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems and Militarized Masculinity

Lisa Wnek, University of Cincinnati, USA (wneklm@mail.uc.edu)

As advances are made in artificial intelligence technology, the creation of lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS) are on the horizon in the United States. LAWS ideally replicate human decision making capabilities to deliver lethal deadly force without sacrificing the bodies or psyches of American troops. I argue these fully autonomous weapons represent a new stage in the displacement of militarized masculinities onto machines, masked by neutral, rational military techno-scientific discourse and perhaps more insidiously, imagined as the answer to having cleaner, safer, and a more humanitarian way to wage perpetual war. Through a feminist critical discourse analysis of LAWS as imagined in contemporary films, my project focuses on how militarized masculinities are deployed in discourses of LAWS to justify them and how they are displaced onto these advanced weapon systems to make them desirable. My ultimate aim is to consider the implications of LAWS, as the next stage of militarized masculinities, for the conduct and perpetuation of US warfare.

White Lies, Black Panthers

Biko Caruthers, University of Central Oklahoma, USA (jcaruthers1@uco.edu), University of Central Oklahoma

A common critique by scholars and feminists about the Black Liberation Movement is that many African American men in the movement marginalized women and queer men. In this paper I argue that there existed a shared notion of “emasculatation” among Third World liberation groups in Latin America, Africa, and the United States. This emasculatation derived from “historical lies” that in turn drove rhetoric and representation within the Black Panther Party. This representation focused on a particular type of masculinity for both male and female members of the Black Panther Party. In this paper I highlight the connections between a significant anti-racist movement in the United States and the anti-colonial projects around the world that Black Panther Party members connected with in their speeches, rhetoric, and presentations.

Ezidi's Forced Migration

Seyedehbehnaz Hosseini, University of Vienna, Austria (seyedehbehnazhosseini@gmail.com)
(presented by video recording)

In *shingal*, the main characteristics of the genocide, which has attracted the world's attention, is the participation of women in which women were involved in the violence and suffered psychological trauma due to torture. Witnesses stressed that in the province of *Mosul*, terrorists representing ISIS forced the wives and daughters of *Mosul* men to marry ISIS fighters. After a year of Ezidis' genocide in Iraq, many women could flee ISIS, and the few of them that came to Germany are under psychological treatment. Still more than 2000 women and children are in the hands of ISIS, which has carried out systematic rape and other sexual violence against Ezidi. This research examines problems these women encounter after sexual violence and persecution and forced migration to Europe. These women in the diaspora, who remain attached to their home culture and its values of propriety and religion, suffer PTSD due to their experiences during the war. How can narratives of women help to integrate them into their new society and heal from their traumatic stress? How can women use the power of their narratives to convert their identities as victims into factors for peace? This research seeks to set the ground for planning interventions to assist such women to do this.

IV.5 ROUNDTABLE Decolonizing Feminist Pedagogies in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics Curricula

Chair: Anne Sisson Runyan, University of Cincinnati, USA (anne.runyan@uc.edu)

Terrell Carver, University of Bristol, UK (T.Carver@bristol.ac.uk)

Rina Williams, University of Cincinnati, USA (rina.williams@uc.edu)

Laura Jenkins, University of Cincinnati, USA (laura.jenkins@uc.edu)

Rebecca Sanders, University of Cincinnati, USA (Rebecca.sanders@uc.edu)
Simona Sharoni, State University of New York Plattsburgh (simona.sharoni@gmail.com)

It is still rare to find numerous specialists in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics in Political Science Departments and thus concentrations in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics within Political Science graduate and undergraduate programs. Too often there may be a single specialist, if any, and not necessarily any incorporation of feminist IR and comparative politics within the required curriculum. This also has implications for not only to what extent but how feminist IR and Comparative Politics are represented in the curriculum. As a somewhat "critical mass" of feminist IR and comparative politics faculty are embarking on a concentration or certificate in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics at the University of Cincinnati, we involved with this project and others on the roundtable who have also thought a lot about pedagogies and curriculum in feminist IR are interested in discussing not only the problem of the continued underrepresentation of feminist IR and comparative politics in Political Science (and even Women's and Gender studies) curricula and its implications, but also how to represent Feminist IR and Comparative Politics through a more decolonial lens (as well as other lenses that both complicate and advance more emancipatory teaching and learning in these areas). What might be key ideas, literature, research, and pedagogical activities that would better center decolonizing knowledge production in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics and Women's and Gender Studies? How might centering decolonization change or challenge how we think about and teach Feminist IR and Comparative Politics in Political Science and Women's center decolonizing knowledge production in Feminist IR and Comparative Politics and Women's and Gender Studies? What can this contribute to feministizing and decolonizing Political Science/IR as well as Women and Gender Studies pedagogies?

SATURDAY, MAY 21

10:15am-Noon Plenary Panel

Decolonial Feminist and Queer Imaginaries in Transnational Perspective

Resignifying Family, Economy and Nation in Postneoliberal Ecuador

Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati, USA (amy.lind@uc.edu)

Cricket Keating, Ohio State University, USA (cricketkeating@gmail.com)

Passed in 2008, Ecuador's constitution contains several important innovations: it affirms the country as a "plurinational" state; forbids discrimination based on gender identity; and grounds the economy in a notion of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* or living well. One of the new Constitution's most exciting innovations is the ways that it resignifies the family, shifting from a singular notion of the family to one based on a notion of *la familia diversa*, the family in its diverse forms. Such a move creates possibilities for extending state recognition to non-normative families, including same-sex households but also migrant, transnational, communal, and other non-normative forms of kinship. This essay analyzes this resignification of the family in terms of Ecuadorian politics and in terms of struggles for decolonial justice more generally. We argue that the resignification of the family creates spaces for the coming together of feminist, LGBTQ, migrants' rights, indigenous and other struggles in the context of the "new left" politics of Latin America. Yet given contradictions in state rhetoric, we pay close attention not only to the ways that these struggles for more just significations in Ecuador have been successful, but also to the ways that these efforts have been limited, compromised, or forestalled.

Feminist and Human Rights Struggles in Peru: Decolonizing Transitional Justice

Pascha Bueno-Hansen, University of Delaware, USA (pbh@udel.edu)

This paper offers a brief synopsis of my recently published book, *Feminist and Human Rights Struggles in Peru: Decolonizing Transitional Justice*. My work brings Latin American feminist and U.S.-based intersectional and transnational approaches into hemispheric dialogue to examine the workings of race, ethnicity, indigeneity, gender, and sexuality in relation to armed conflict and its aftermath. I utilize intersectionality with careful consideration of the incommensurability implicit in such analytic travels and translations. This analysis contests and expands the

parameters of transitional justice in the post-conflict context of Peru and offers policy recommendations for the implementation of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. Between 2001-2003, the Peruvian state mandated a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate the causes and consequences of the internal armed conflict (1980-2000) utilizing international human rights law. The book emphasizes how Latin American-based knowledge production and practice interface with the global circulation of international human rights law and transitional justice. A focus on gender-based violence reveals the presence of overlapping oppressions related to gender, sexuality, ethnicity, indigeneity, class, language and geographic location, both during the Peruvian internal armed conflict and throughout the transitional justice process. Attention to these multiple oppressions exposes the limits and possibilities of transitional justice, opening onto an examination of the historical context of gender based violence, the reasoning that sustains it and its ongoing impunity as related to the legacy of colonialism in Peru.

Decolonial Challenges in Transnational Feminist Inquiry on the Middle East and North Africa
Isis Nusair, Denison University, USA (nusairi@denison.edu)

This paper will examine decolonial challenges in transnational feminist inquiry and practice. It will focus on particular examples of how bodies, emotions, and minds as well as institutions and structures could be decolonized in relation to our inquiry and study of women and gender in the Middle East and North Africa. I will analyze three cases related to building feminist knowledges and practices that could lead to ethical solidarities. In these examples, I examine the particular contexts in which they emerge and the intersection between them. The first describes my own experience of teaching about gender and revolution in the Middle East and North Africa at Denison University. The second traces solidarity trips taken recently by scholars and activists like Angela Davis and Chandra Talpade Mohanty to the Palestinian Occupied Territories. The third examines the adoption by the National Women's Studies Association of a resolution in 2015 calling on its members to join the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement for justice in Palestine. I end by analyzing how these knowledges and practices simultaneously challenge our location within the United States' hegemonic power structures and how they could lead to the emergence of decolonial horizons.

State Decolonization and Depatriarchalization in Bolivia: Decolonial Feminist Imaginaries and Contradictions

Hanna Dahlstrom, University of British Columbia, Canada (h.dahlstrom@alumni.ubc.ca)

Feminists have debated whether the state is a useful avenue for change, and the relationship between indigeneity and the state has historically been that of contradiction. Yet, the government of the first indigenous president Evo Morales Ayma, created a new Vice Ministry of Decolonization with a unit for Depatriarchalization as part of the mandate of the new constitution to construct a new plurinational state. The vice-minister of Decolonization further stated that Bolivia's goal should be to export the system of depatriarchalization. Most research has focused on epistemological aspects of the indigenous politics of *buen vivir*. Such research often overlooks more grounded discussions of actual political alternatives and few researchers use a feminist lens. This paper examines the discourses of this state unit through a decolonial feminist framework and it argues that this is a decolonial feminist project, with the aim to destabilize the internal colonialism which limited politics to males, and whites and mestizos, to include indigenous peoples and particularly women. It also discusses the contradictions and limitations of the state program in the context of contemporary Bolivian politics and by drawing on critiques by certain movements.

Dissonances Around Gender and Sexuality Rights in Latin America

Maria Amelia Viteri, Universidad de San Francisco, Ecuador (mviteri@usfq.edu.ec)

Nation-building projects are grounded in what Gayatri Gopinath (2005:12) refers to as organic heterosexuality, norms and practices based on idealized notions of femininity and masculinity, which are reproduced and reinforced through cultural imaginaries. Despite trans rights being more visible now than ever before, government discourses

reinforce gender categories for marriage, maintaining heterosexist power and privilege. My paper analyzes the dissonances between progressive discourses on sexuality rights and a reification of the gender binary based on Ecuador's recent laws on gender and sexuality.