



Remapping the Feminist Global: A Multi-vocal, Multi-located Conversation

South Korea, July 21-23, 2022

International Feminist Journal of Politics

Asian Center for Women's Studies
Ewha Womans University
Hybrid Conference

Full information and updates:

https://www.ifjpglobal.org/2022-conference-program

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Please note:

Presenters: Please register by <u>10 June</u> to stay on the program. The registration process collects your latest update on mode of participation, institutional affiliation and contact information as well as short bios to be included in the final program. For further scheduling related doubts or clarifications, contact Khushi at khushi.singhrathore@gmail.com.

All: Please consider volunteering as a moderator on a panel. Moderators will function as both the chair and the discussant in this year's conference. It is the responsibility of the moderator to contact the paper presenters in advance (ideally two weeks before the conference) to collect and circulate the working papers among the panelists. Email addresses will be included in the final conference program in July. You can express your interest as part of the registration process.

Plenary Conversations

Opening Conversation

Intersectionality and Humanity: Revising Feminist Aporia in Critical Race and Colonial Perspectives

That Modern Feminist Thought shares its lineage with the liberal Enlightenment and Humanism has continued to render certain feminist practices assimilable to the colonial-racial regime of knowledge that has long underpinned what we normatively uphold as political modernity and its foundational assumptions. I will revisit this familiar feminist aporia through exploring the genealogies of U.S. women of color feminism, third world/postcolonial feminism, and queer of color critique, to highlight their theorizations of difference, the human, and other ways of being and caring. At the same time, I will ask how "intersectionality"—a concept originally forwarded as an alternative legal doctrine yet variously deployed for extensive political ends such that the term appears to have lost its original relevance for some—can be repurposed as a critical methodology with which to challenge the universalism of liberal humanism/feminism and the attendant compartmentalization of academic knowledge, but ultimately, to strengthen coalitional possibilities. In the spirit of the conference organizers' commitment to consider Asia "as a geographic location and imaginary that offers an important anchoring for global feminist conversations," I will address as well how such largely North America-based critiques have transnationally resonated with some of the most urgent feminist

engagements that have unfolded across and beyond plural "Asias," however imagined.



Keynote Delivery by: Lisa Yoneyama

Lisa Yoneyama received a Ph.D. in Anthropology at Stanford University and taught Cultural Studies at University of California, San Diego, where she also served as Program Director for Japanese Studies and Critical Gender Studies. She joined the University of Toronto faculty in 2011. Yoneyama's research concerns memory, violence, and justice with special focus on race and colonialism, gender, nuclearism, and transpacific Cold War and post-Cold War knowledge production. Her publications include: Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory (1999); a co-edited volume, Perilous Memories: Asia-Pacific War(s) (2001); Violence, War,

Redress: Politics of Multiculturalism (in Japanese, 2003); and Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes (2016) which received the 2018 Best Book Award in Humanities and Cultural Studies, the Association for Asian American Studies. Yoneyama is currently

working on a new book project, Co-Conjuring: Toward a Decolonial Nuclear Criticism, under the support of SSHRC-Insight Grant.



Response Discussion by: Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa & Karen Thornber

Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa is a Belgian/Rwandan International Relations scholar and former journalist. She is Assistant Professor in Human Rights and Politics in the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, UK and Senior Research Fellow of the Johannesburg Institute of Advanced Studies, South Africa. Her research and teaching focuses on ways to decolonize (international) solidarity. Building

on epistemic Blackness as methodology, she turns to recovering and reconnecting philosophies and practices of dignity and repair and retreat in the postcolony to theorise solidarity anticolonially. She has published in various (academic) journals, is the co-editor of The Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics (with Shilliam, 2018) and Decolonization and Feminisms in Global Teaching and Learning (with de Jong and Icaza, Routledge, 2018).



Karen Thornber is Harry Tuchman Levin Professor in Literature and Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, where she has also held a range of leadership positions. A 2006 Harvard Ph.D., she is author of four scholarly monographs: Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature (Harvard 2009); Ecoambiguity: Environmental Crises and East Asian Literatures (Michigan 2012); Global Healing: Literature, Advocacy, Care (Brill 2020); and Gender Justice and Contemporary Asian Literatures (expected publication 2023). Professor Thornber is an award-

winning translator of Japanese literature, author of eighty academic articles/book chapters, and (co)-editor of scholarly volumes on environment and indigeneity, aging, medical and health humanities, and trans-regional Asia.



Chaired by: Ji Young Jung

Ji Young Jung(鄭智泳) is a Professor of Women's Studies and Director of the Asian Center for Women's Studies (ACWS) at Ewha Womans University, Korea. She finished her Ph.D. in History at Sogang University, Korea (2001) and spent a year as a visiting scholar at the Asian Institute of University of Toronto, Canada (2013-2014). Her research concerns gender history, post-colonial studies, and memory studies with focus on the family system in Korea. Her scholarly monograph, *The Construction of order and*

its Fissures: The family register and women in the late Chosŏn Korea (Sogang Press, 2015), examined the gender making process and its unresolvable contradictions. She co-edited Site of Memory in East Asia (Kawade Shobo Press, 2011) and co-authored Women and Confucianism in Chosŏn Korea: New perspectives (SUNY, 2011) and Asian Families and Intimacies (SAGE, 2021). She has published numerous articles on the marginalized women and the paradoxical gender norms of late Chosŏn and colonial modern Korea. She is currently working on a new project "Race and Gender: Global Korea, Neo-Racialization and Intersectionality" under the support of the National Research Foundation of Korea.

Closing Conversation

Remapping the Feminist Global

How do we reclaim the South-South space in the spirit of dialogue and dissent? In this Round Table, we bring together feminist colleagues across regions and locations speaking and sharing ideas about breaking free from academic norms and protocols to reimagine the feminist global in inclusive and non-hierarchical ways. This requires radical methodologies, pedagogies and interdisciplinary collaborations that can challenge the existing forms of knowledge and especially create dialogic spaces for South - South feminisms even as the 'global' is being remapped. The participants here will especially reflect on ways to promote South-South vision of the 'global', and why that matters at a time when violence, erasures and exclusions are the norm across geographies and socio-political contexts.

Discussants: Elora Shehabuddin, Natália Maria Félix de Souza, Dzodzi Tsikata & Alice Urusaro Uwagaga Karekezi



Elora Shehabuddin is Professor of Gender & Women's Studies and Global Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. She is the author of Sisters in the Mirror: A History of Muslim Women and the Global Politics of Feminism (University of California Press, 2021), Reshaping the Holy: Democracy, Development, and Muslim Women in Bangladesh (Columbia University Press, 2008), and Empowering Rural Women: The Impact of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh (Grameen Bank, 1992). She currently serves as an Associate Editor of the Journal of Bangladesh Studies and as an Associate Editor (Central and South Asia) of the Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures (Brill).



Natália Maria Félix de Souza is Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP), where she is currently serving as Advisor for International and Institutional Affairs. She is also the coordinator of Tibira – Center for International Studies on Gender and Sexuality at PUC-SP. She is currently a co-editor in chief of the International Feminist Journal of Politics (IFJP). Her research and teaching focuses on critical approaches to subjectivity and subject formation; studies on gender violence and feminist resistance in Latin America; and the agenda on decolonizing knowledge production in international relations theory. She has been active in promoting the agenda on Feminism, Gender and Sexuality in Brazilian IR.



Dzodzi Tsikata is Professor of Development Sociology and Director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. She is also one of the five editors of the journal Feminist Africa. In a career spanning over 30 years, Tsikata's teaching, research and publications have been in the areas of gender and development policies and practices; the politics and livelihood effects of land tenure reforms, large scale land acquisitions and agricultural commercialisation; and informal labour relations and conditions of work. She has extensive experience with leading multi-disciplinary and multi-national research projects, supervising student theses and examining post-graduate theses. Tsikata is a Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is the immediate past President of Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

Dzodzi Tsikata is also active in the leadership of several leading policy advocacy networks in Africa, including the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana, Third World Network-Africa, and Centre for Democracy and Development, Abuja.



Alice Urusaro Uwagaga Karekezi, a scholarly practitioner holds a PhD from the School of Global Studies, University of Göteborg focused on decolonizing international norm construction and a Master Degree in Law from the University Aix-Marseille III.

Karekezi co-founded the University of Rwanda Center for Conflict Management (CCM) in 1999 where she is based. Her main areas of interest include Rwanda's Postgenocide reconstruction; Women, peace and security, African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Her work and research interests include Postgenocide reconstruction homegrown practices, chiefly Gacaca and Gir'inka; Transitional justice and Reconciliation; Decolonial global politics; Gender, Peace and Security, Civil-Military Cooperation and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), since recently, Children and Armed conflict.



Chaired by: Swati Parashar

Swati Parashar is Professor in Peace and Development research at the School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden. Her research interests include feminism, postcolonialism, security, conflict and development in South Asia. Most recently she has co-edited the Routledge Handbook of Feminist Peace Research with Tarja Väyrynen, Élise Féron and Catia Cecilia Confortini; Gender, Silence and Agency in Contested Terrains with Jane Parpart; and Revisiting Gendered States:

Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations, with J. Ann Tickner and Jacqui True. She is a co-editor in chief of the International Feminist Journal of Politics and serves on the advisory boards of Millennium, Security Dialogue, Third World Quarterly, Critical Studies on Security and, Critical Terrorism Studies.

Day 1 ACWS-sponsored Plenaries

Panel 1 Re-Learning (from) Asia: Methods and Possibilities in Understanding Global /Local History

Discussants:

shine choi, Te Kunenga Ki Pūrehuroa Massey University Christine Hong, University of California, Santa Cruz Ji Young Jung, Ewha Womans University more to be announced

As the Brazilian educator Paolo Freire has observed 'no one becomes local from a universal position', similarly, no history becomes local or global from a universal position. And yet universalising logics and practices shape much of the debates and discussions in critical, feminist, postcolonial circles. In short, the problem of universal Man is not only a problem that affects 'them' (e.g. mainstream scholars, patriarchs or the depoliticised public), but also how the various 'we's' are sharing our knowledge, learning from each other and writing history of humanity from our various locations. This conversation tries to answer the questions, 'What are the limits, and what is shaping these limits, in our understanding of global and/or local history? How do we access submerged histories and lives that were and are lived despite insurmountable constraints and enclosures?' These questions are inspired by

Lisa Lowe and Kris Manjapra's suggestion that history of 'other humanities' is 'a conditional temporality of "what could have been" that has to remain open to different kinds of thinking and speculations than what is afforded in positive objects and methods of history and social science. We agree with Lowe and Manjapra that this project of rewriting, and indeed rethinking history, is one of redistributing who and how the meaning of the human is claimed. For this, established modern European disciplinary understandings of geography, temporality and relationality need not only critical reframing but creative forging of new practices of thinking, reading and relating in the world.

As a way to prompt this collective discussion, discussants are invited to give short position statements in the first round of discussion. *Jung Ji Young* will offer a critical re-reading of women's history in Joseon period and breaking from orientalism in the study of Korea. *Christine Hong* will speak from her book, A Violent Peace: Race, U.S. Militarism, and Cultures of democratization in Cold War Asia and the Pacific. *shine choi* will offer a speculative history of international human rights regime and possibilities in non-aligned diplomacy.

Panel 2 Roundtable Discussion: Centering and Decentering Race and Gender – Korean Perspectives

Discussants:

Sohoon Yi, Kyungpook National University
Ga Young Chung, University of California, Davis
Sunhye Kim, Ewha Womans University
Young Min Lee, Ewha Womans University
more to be announced

This panel explores the ways in which the meanings and practices of race and gender have been reassembled and rearticulated in contemporary South Korea in the context of people's national, transnational, and diasporic movements. We ask: How do different actors negotiate race and gender through the hegemonic rubrics of patriarchy, heteronormativity, ethnonationalism, and imperialism?; How do people imagine different citizenship futures, and how does it affect their (re)identification of race and gender?; how do the specific forms of precarity that each group experiences affect and give meaning to the race and gender in contemporary South Korea? Informed by transnational and interdisciplinary insights from Geography, Women's and Gender Studies, Sociology, and Ethnic Studies, this panel is dedicated to expanding the theoretical, epistemological, and pedagogical scope of the field of race and gender in South Korea.

Hub Plenaries

Hub plenaries are organised by the respective Hub convenors and are live-streamed for all registered conference participants. See the Panel Abstract section for full bios of speakers.

Day 2 Oceania Hub Plenaries

Convened by Sara Davies, Griffith University

Sponsored by: Griffith University Gender Equality Research Network and School of Government and International Relations

Panel 1 Resisting Discipline: Critical Indigenous Theories and Methodologies

Social science disciplines can be sites of resistance that expose inequity and injustice. They are also sites of power and domination that oppress challenges to their authority and knowledge. Studies of race, settler colonialism, and Indigeneity and Indigenous sovereignty are not sufficiently supported or recognised in disciplines in Australian University institutions, or elsewhere. Debbie Bargallie and Alana Lentin recently asked how can the critical race toolbox be used in theoretical synergy with critical Indigenous studies and other perspectives such as race critical and decolonial theory for making sense of how race is produced, reproduced and maintained in settler colonial states and, by extension, social science disciplines? This panel's speakers reflect on this question from their own lived experience as scholars who are connecting race, Indigeneity, and Indigenous sovereignty to their disciplinary research.

Cite: Debbie Bargallie and Alana Lentin. 2021. Beyond convergence and divergence: Towards a 'both and' approach to critical race and critical Indigenous studies in Australia, Current Sociology, https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211024701

Participants:

Bronwyn Carlson (Chair) is Professor of Indigenous Studies, Department of Indigenous Studies, Macquarie University.

Julie Ballangary is a proud Gumbaynggirr/Dunghutti women and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University.

Madi Day is an Aboriginal transgender academic born and raised on Dharug Country. They are completing a PhD by publication on heterosexuality and white settlers; specifically the function of heterosexualism and white settler violence in settler colonialism in so-called Australia.

Madeleine Pugin is a Kombumerri woman of the Gold Coast and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University.

Panel 2 Feminist Inquiries for Climate Justice

The UNFCCC Gender Action Plan <u>acknowledges</u>:

Climate change is a challenge that impacts every aspect of our economies and societies. And we are out of time. We need a rapid and radical transition away from the status quo to low-carbon, resilient economies and societies.

Ensuring women participate equally with men in solution-building, and ensuring that women have equal access and input to the new economy will accelerate our move away from business as usual, towards a transformative low-carbon future.

Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is undoubtedly a rights issue AND to meet the ambitious 1.5 C degrees target and limiting warming to well below 2 C, the needs, perspectives and ideas of 100% of the population must be included to build solutions that are effective, just and sustainable

A just transition to climate impacts will require feminist research and solutions at all levels - but what should that look like? What kinds of feminist inquiries contribute to climate justice? This panel will discuss the displacement impacts of climate change, the need for inclusive climate leadership, the responsiveness of communities through climate activism and need for feminist informed climate finance.

Participants:

Esther Onyango (Chair) is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Planetary Health and Food Security, Griffith University.

Betty Barkha is currently a final year PhD Candidate at Monash University and a technical advisor to FHI 360 on Environment and Climate Change (ECC).

Beth Goldblatt is a Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney and a Visiting Professor in the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor Shireen Hassim is Canada 150 Research Chair in Gender and African Studies at Carleton University, Ottawa and Visiting Professor at WiSER, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Rowena Maguire is an Associate Professor in the School of Law at QUT and the Program Leader of the Environmental Law Research Group.

Elise Stephenson is a Research Fellow at the Global Institute for Women's Leadership, Australian National University, Fellow of the National Security College, Adjunct at the Griffith Asia Institute, and 2022 Fulbright Scholar.

Maria Tanyag is a Fellow / Senior Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU.

Day 3 Southeast Asia Hub Plenaries

Convened by Primitivo Rangandang III, Mindanao State University/ANU/ Seeds for Mindanao's Advocacy and Youth Leadership

Panel 1 On Gender and Development: Trajectories, Challenges, and Prospects

What is the state of advancing women's rights in in the global south? How does conflict affect the gender and development programs in the region? With examples from the Philippines, these are the questions that the opening plenary of the IFJP Conference's Southeast Asia hub will explore. The panel will also discuss the challenges practitioners experience in advancing gender-related programs. Finally, the panel offers the audience a space to reflect on the prospects of gender-related programs from the global south.

Participants:

Jinky B Bornales (WHWise: iBLEnDNICE 4 WomEn and Mindanao State University-Iligan) is the Project Leader of the WHWise: iBLEnDNICE 4 WomEn. She leads the Gender and Development Center of MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City, where she also served as the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Extension.

Nery Ronatay (UN Women's Women Peace and Security) is the head of the UN Women's Women Peace and Security team in the Philippines.

Hilton Joyo Aguja, PhD (Mindanao State University-Iligan) is a Political Science professor at MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in the Philippines.

Moderated by:

Bina D'Costa (The Australian National University)

Prime Ragandang III (The Australian National University/Mindanao State University-Iligan)

Panel 2 Transformative Methodologies: The Academe beyond Knowledge Production

What role does the academe play in helping address social issues? How does pure knowledge production evolve? This panel explores the experiences of scholars-practitioners on how their scholarships are geared towards addressing social issues. It highlights how transformative approaches in research pull us the way we create knowledge: that beyond knowledge production and theory testing, the academe has the role of proactively engaging with the community they study. The panel offers the audience a space to reflect on the research methodologies we employ and the research's utility in the society we work. Panellists brings their experiences as scholars-practitioners working on youth and women inclusion, community engagement, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Participants:

Catherine Roween Chico-Almaden is currently the College President of the Northern Bukidnon State College.

Lynrose Jane D Genon is currently a Faculty Member at the Department of English of Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT). She is also a member of the Executive Council of Young Women + Leaders for Peace-Philippines.

Dr Nassef Manabilang Adiong is the founder of Co-IRIS (International Relations and Islamic Studies Research Cohort), PHISO (Philippine International Studies Organization), and DSRN (Decolonial Studies Research Network).

Primitivo III Cabanes Ragandang is currently doing a PhD at the Australian National University, exploring the intergenerational intersect of memory and resilience in an ayóm-ayóm political order. Since 2017, he has served as an Assistant Professor at the Political Science Department of Mindanao State University-Iligan.

Moderated by:

Mary Koren Witting Acuesa (Northern Bukidnon Community College) Septrin Calamba (Deaken University/Mindanao State Uniersity-Iligan)

IFJP-ACWS Hybrid Conference 2022 Highlight Panels

Virtual Stream:

Day 1

Panel 1-1. Problematising White Feminism in Global Politics

Panel 1-2. Securitising Gender or Gendering Security: Perspectives from Asia

Day 2

Panel 2-2. Child Marriage in an International Frame: A Feminist Review from India (Routledge, 2021, 2022) by Prof. Mary John, CWDS New Delhi.

Panel 7-1. Thinking through Gaps: Intersectional Feminisms for Multiracial Solidarity

Panel 7-2 Feminist Pedagogical Interventions in Global Nuclear Politics (Roundtable Discussion)

Panel 7-3. LGBTIQ+ Politics in Times of Crises: Transnational Perspectives – Session 1

Hybrid Stream:

Day 2

Panel 1-6. Feminist Responses to a New Age of Geopolitics (Public Roundtable sponsored by Taft Research Center, University of Cincinnati)

Panel 2-3. Digital Feminism: Rethinking violence, activism and the public

Panel 5-5. Towards Epistemic Justice and Plurivocal Worlds

Day 3

Panel 1-6. In and About: A Feminist Ethic of Care and Academia (Roundtable Discussion)

Panel 3-2. Women of the Global South: Re-mapping Knowledge in Practice

Panel 3-6. Feminist Security Studies: Conversing from the Margins

Demystifying Publishing and Review Process Q&A Panels

Day 2

Panel 4-6. Meet Feminist Book Series Editors

Editors in attendance in bold:

Ali Bilgic, Synne L Dyvik, Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv, **Thomas Gregory and Swati Parashar**, Gender, Sexuality and Global Politics, Bristol University Press

J Ann Tickner and **Laura Sjoberg**, <u>Gender and International Relations</u>, Oxford University Press

Laura J Shepherd, Gender and Global Politics, Routledge

shine choi, Cristina Masters, Swati Parashar and Marysia Zalewski, <u>Creative Interventions in Global Politics</u>, Rowman and Littlefield

Day 3

Panel 4-4. Meet IFJP editors

Moderator: Laura Sjoberg (former IFjP Co-Editor-in-Chief)

Current Co-Editors-in-Chief in attendance in bold:

shine choi, Te Kunenga Ki Pūrehuroa Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand Natália Félix de Souza, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, Brazil

Amy LInd, University of Cincinnati, USA

Elisabeth Prügl, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland

Swati Parashar, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Marysia Zalewski, Cardiff University, Wales, UK

Pre-Conference Conversation

Note: This event is open to the public. Details will be announced on the conference website and Twitter: @IFJPGlobal shortly

Learning with Teresia Teaiwa's life/work and a Book Launch of Sweat and Salt Water

Convened by Katerina Teaiwa, Australian National University, and moderated by Bina D'Costa, Australian National University

Coconut
You would be
Salt Water
In calm or storm
I could always float
With you
Breathe
In you
Until
You met fresh water
and then
I would sink, sink, sink

If I were a coconut

If I were a

and you were salt water

I would sink, sink, sink

When you met fresh water

I would sink, sink, sink

But, the wise ones say,

I will not drown.

This panel will discuss Sweat and Salt Water: Selected Works, a collection of the late Teresia Teaiwa's influential pieces, compiled and edited by Katerina Teaiwa, April K Henderson, and Terence Wesley-Smith.

Associate Professor Teresia Kieuea Teaiwa (1968–2017) was an influential scholar, teacher, activist and poet, and director of Pacific Studies and Samoan Studies at Victoria University of Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand. She was a co-editor of the International Journal of Feminist Politics from 2008-2011.

Sweat and Salt Water features a selection of Teaiwa's scholarly and creative contributions captured in print over her professional career. The collection honours her legacy in various scholarly fields, including Pacific studies, Indigenous studies, literary studies, security studies, and gender studies, and on topics ranging from militarism and tourism to politics and pedagogy. It also includes examples of Teaiwa's poems. Many of these contributions have had significant and lasting impacts.

Participants:

Maria Bargh, Te Kawa a Māui/School of Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington Cynthia Enloe, Clark University April Henderson, Victoria University of Wellington Megan Mackenzie, Simon Fraser University, Canada

Hybrid Stream

Day 1

(KST) July 21 09:45AM-09:55AM / (GMT) July 21 12:45AM-12:55AM / (EST) July 20 08:45PM-8:55pm
Running Time: 10 mins
Opening Remarks
5min break
(KST) July 21 10:00AM-12:00PM / (GMT) July 21 01:00AM-3:00AM / (EST) July 20 9:00PM-11:00PM Running Time: 120 mins (2hrs)
Intersectionality and Humanity: Revisiting Feminist Aporia in Critical Race and Colonial Perspectives Keynote Speaker: Professor Lisa Yoneyama Discussants: Karen Thornber and Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa Chair: Ji Young Jung
(KST) July 21 12:00PM-1:30PM / (GMT) July 21 3:00AM- 4:30AM / (EST) July 20 11:00PM-12:30AM Running Time: 90mins (1hr 30mins)
Reception

(KST) July 21 1:30PM-3:10PM / (GMT) July 21 4:30AM-6:10AM/ (EST) July 21 12.30AM-2:10AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Re-Learning (from) Asia: Methods and Possibilities in Understanding Global /Local History
Discussants: shine choi, Christine Hong, Ji Young Jung, more to be announced

20 min rest break

(KST) July 21 3:30PM-5:10PM/ (GMT) July 21 6.30AM-8:10AM / (EST) July 21 2:30AM-4:10AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Roundtable Discussion: Centering and Decentering Race and Gender – Korean Perspectives

Discussants: Sohoon Yi, Ga Young Chung, Sunhye Kim, Young Min Lee, more to be announced

*Simultaneous Korean-English interpretation will be provided on Day 1

Day 2

(KST) July 22 8:30AM-10:10AM / (GMT) July 21 11:30PM-1:10AM / (EST) July 21 7:30PM-9:10PM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Plenary Panel 1-	Book launch
1	Panel 1-2
Resisting	Elora
Discipline:	Shehabuddin's
Critical	Sister in the
Indigenous	Mirror in
Theories and	conversation
Methodologies	with Shirin
Oceania Hub	Saeidi's Women
Plenary	and the Islamic
Roundtable	Republic

15min rest	break
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(KST) July 22 10:25AM-12:05PM / (GMT)July 22 1:25AM-3:05AM / (EST) July 21 9:25PM-11.05PM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 2-1 Today's Peace and Security Questions	Panel 2-2 Conceptualizing Gender and its (In)Justices	Panel 2-3 Digital Feminism: Rethinking Violence, Activism and the Public	Panel 2-4 LGBTIQ+ Politics in Times of Crises: Transnational Perspectives - Session 2	Panel 2-5 Language Hierarchies and Feminism	Panel 2-6 Laboring in Times of Crisis and Beyond
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Lunch Break (55mins)

(KST) July 22 12:05-1:00 PM / (GMT) July 22 3:05 AM-4.00 AM/ (EST) July 21 11:05 PM / 12:00 AM

(KST) 1:00PM-2:40PM / (GMT) 4:00AM-5:40AM / (EST) 12:00AM- 1:40AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 3-1 Islam and Gender in Japan and South Korea I Panel 3-2 Muslim Womanhood, Feminist Spac and the Natio State	Eaminist Politics	Panel 3-4 Cultural and Social Contestations: Perspectives from India	Panel 3-5 Women and Gender Equality as Goals: Political and Policy Questions for Feminism	6 Title: Feminist Inquiries for Climate Justice Oceania Hub Plenary Roundtable
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15 min rest break	

(KST) July 22 2:55PM-4:35PM / (GMT) 5:55AM-7:35AM / (EST) 1:55AM- 3.35AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 4-1 Islam and Gender in Japan and South Korea II	Panel 4-2 Religion and Resistance: Feminist politics and Contemporary Indian Social Movements	Panel 4-3 Solidarity, Activism and Politics of Representation: Women and Media	Panel 4-4 Remapping Gender through Migrant (Im)mobility across Asia	Panel 4-5 Gender, War and Memory: Critical Perspectives	Panel 4-6 Publishing Q&A: Meet Feminist Book Series Editors
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15 min rest break

(KST) 4:50PM-6:30PM / (GMT) 7:50AM-9:30AM / (EST) 3.50AM-5:30AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 5-1	Panel 5-2	Panel 5-3	Panel 5-4	Panel 5-5	Book launch
	Gender,	Violence and	Negotiating	Towards	Panel 5-6
	Representation	Women's	(for)	Epistemic	Conversations
	and	Agency	Intersectional	Justice and	on Feminist
	Masculinities in	1.60.1.5)	Feminist Spaces	Plurivocal	Peace by Smith,
	Asia		and Theory	Worlds	Sarah, LSE
					Centre for
					Women, Peace
					and Security &
					Keina Yoshida,
					LSE Centre for
					Women, Peace
					and Security

Day 3

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Plenary Panel 1-	Book launch		Highligh
1	Panel 1-2		1-
Title: On gender	Title: Feminist		In and A
and	Solutions For		Feminis
development:	Ending War		of Car
trajectories,	edited by		Acad
challenges, and	Megan		
prospects	Mackenzie		
1 1			
Southeast Asian			
Hub plenary			

15min rest break

(KST) 10:25AM-12:05PM / (GMT) 1:25AM-3:05AM / (EST) 9:25PM-11:05PM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 2-1 Intersectionalit y and Others: Conjunctures and Disjunctures in Feminisms	Panel 2-2 Crafting New Futures, Recovering Radical Pasts: Divestment, Radical Politics and Local Wisdoms	Panel 2-3 Feminism Today in Japan and Korea: In Perspectives of Neoliberalism and Humanities Disciplines	Panel 2-4 Conservation and Shift in Politics of Hatred	Panel 2-5 Racing the Korean Imaginary: Gender and the Making of Race in South Korea (Roundtable)	Panel 2-6 Re-reading Colonialism, Feminist Activism and the State
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Lunch break (60mins)

(KST) 12:05PM-1:00PM / (GMT) 3:05AM-4:00AM / (EST) 11:05PM-12:00AM

(KST) 1:00PM-2:40PM / (GMT) 4:00AM-5:40AM / (EST) 12:00AM-1:40AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Plenary Panel 3-	Highlight Panel		Highlight P
1	3-2:		3-6
Transformative	Women of the		Feminist
methodologies:	Global South:		Security
the Academe	Re-mapping		Studies:
beyond	Knowledge in		Conversing
Knowledge	Practice		from the
Production	(Roundtable)		Margins
Southeast Asian Hub plenary			

15 min rest break

(KST) 2:55PM-4:35PM / (GMT) 5:55AM-7:35AM / (EST) 1:55AM-3:35AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 4-1 Tensions in Standpoint Theorising in a Settler-Colonial and Decolonial Context (Roundtable)	Panel 4-2 Gendered State and Regulated Migration	Panel 4-3 Reading Complex Friction: Issues of Feminism in Comtemporary Asia	Panel 4-4 Publishing Q&A: Meet IFJP Editors	Panel 4-5 Re- encountering Rights: Sexuality, Gender and Legal Institutions	Panel 4-6
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15 min rest break
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(KST) 4:50PM-6:30PM / (GMT) 7:50AM-9:30AM / (EST) 3:50AM-5:30AM

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Closing Panel

(IFjP + ACWS)

Remapping the Feminist Global

Chair: Swati Parashar (University of Gothenburg)

Speakers:

Elora Shehabudin (UC Berkeley, US)

Natália Maria Félix de Souza (Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, Brazil)

Dzodzi Tsikata (University of Ghana)

Alice Urusaro Uwagaga Karekezi (University of Rwanda, Kigali)

more to be announced

Virtual Stream

July 21st (Day 1)- July 22nd (Day 2)

Day 1

(KST) July 21 7:30 pm -9:10 pm / (GMT) July 21 10:30 am- 12:10 pm / (EST) July 21 6:30 am- 8:10 am

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Highlight Panel	Panel 1-2	Panel 1-3
1-1	Securitising Gender or	Neoliberalism and
Problematising	Gendering Security:	Feminism: Anti-
White Feminism in	Perspectives from Asia	feminist or post-
Global Politics		feminist?
Feminist		(Roundtable
		Discussion Panel)

^{*} Suggested format: 4 speakers, 20 mins each, followed by 20 mins Discussion/Q&A led by moderator

15 mins Break

(KST) July 21 9:25 pm - 11:05 pm/ (GMT) July 21 12:25 pm - 2:05 pm/ (EST) July 21 8:25 am - 10:05 am

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 2-1
Interactive Workshop:
Feminist Connections In and Out of
Academia: Making an Impact Through

Highlight Panel
2-2
Book Launch:
Child Marriage in an International

Feminist Research and Everyday Activism

Frame: A Feminist Review from India (Routledge, 2021,2022) by Prof. Mary John, formerly Professor, CWDS New Delhi

15 mins break

Day 1 (running into Day 2)

(KST) July 21 11:20 pm - 1:00 am/ (GMT) July 21 2:20 pm - 4:00 pm/ (EST)July 21 10:20 am - 12:00 noon
Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 3

IFJP 2022 Virtual Reception

Open to all virtual participants (regardless of whether their panels are virtual or hybrid)

15 mins break

Day 2

(KST) July 22 1:15 a.m - 2:55 am/ (GMT) July 21 4:15 pm - 5:55 pm/ (EST) July 21 12:15 pm - 1:55 pm

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 4-1	Panel 4-2	Panel 4-3
Sex, Gender and Womenhood in Asian Thought: 8th Century through 20th	Queer Bodies: Solidarities, Activism and Knowledge Resources	Multilocational Conversations about Women, Power and Political Leadership

15 mins break

(KST) July 22 3:10 am - 4:50 am / (GMT) July 21 6:10 pm - 7:50 pm / (EST) July 21 2:10 pm - 3:50 pm Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

l Tensions: Feminist Disruptions, Feminist Activism and Knowledge
eminist Activism and Knowledge
gency and Production in Contemporary
rsis East Asia

15 mins break

(KST) July 22 5:05 am - 6:45 am / (GMT) July 21 8:05 pm - 9:45 pm / (EST) July 21 4:05 am - 5:45 pm

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Panel 6-1 Military, Militarism and Protection: Seeking Possibilities of Peace Outside in	Panel 6-2 What is the State of Feminist Academia and Knowledge Production Today?	Panel 6-3 Militarism, Violence and Engendering Security

15 mins break

(KST) July 22 7:00 a.m - 8:40 a.m / (GMT) July 21 10:00 pm - 11:40 pm / (EST)July 21 6:00 pm - 7:40 pm

Running Time: 100 mins (1hr 40mins)

Highlight Panel	Highlight Panel	Highlight Panel	
7-1	7-2	7-3	
Thinking through	Feminist Pedagogical	LGBTIQ+ Politics in Times of	
Gaps: Intersectional	Interventions in Global	Crises: Transnational	
Feminisms for	Nuclear Politics	Perspectives – Session 1	
Multiracial Solidarity	(Roundtable)		
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I. VIRTUAL STREAM

Panel 1-1. Problematising White Feminism in Global Politics

Critiquing Feminist Peacebuilding with Postcolonial Feminist Tools

Muna Kaldawi-Killingback, University of Massachusetts Boston

The influence of liberal Western feminism can be seen in the peacebuilding projects of international and Global South women's organizations and has, in some instances, served to weaken their capacity to challenge hegemony. Western feminist-driven peace framings may sometimes have the unintended consequence of disconnecting Global South women in conflict areas from their larger national struggles while directing them toward the more limited liberal feminist goal of increased women's representation. This emphasis may come at the expense of more solidarity-based approaches involving, for example, Western feminists lobbying their governments to end arms sales to militias and states violating international law. Dubbed the "cunning of gender violence" by Abu-Lughod, Shalhoub-Kevorkian, and Hammami, another strand of Western feminist influence in peacebuilding manifests in funders prioritizing gender-based violence while ignoring the pervasive and persistent physical and structural violence perpetrated against women and their societies by invading or occupation forces. Moreover, the institutionalization of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 has led NGOs to focus on women's representation and national action plans to the exclusion of other advocacy strategies and approaches that may be more effective, albeit more critical of powerful governments and interests. Using the analytic framework of postcolonial feminism, this paper interrogates whether Western white feminism may sometimes indirectly serve goals of imperialism and neo-colonialism by disciplining Global South women's epistemologies and advocacy and whether a more solidarity-based approach that considers the reality of inequitable power relations would be more welcome by and helpful to Global South women affected by conflict.

White Feminism and the Governance of Violent Extremism

Laura Shepherd, University of Sydney

Initiatives to prevent and counter "violent extremism" (P/CVE) are often highly individualised and individualising, and function to reinforce negative racialized and gendered stereotypes. Recently, it has been argued that sexist and misogynistic beliefs are inter-related with other drivers of "radicalisation" and "extremism", which may lead to the securitisation of forms of sexist and misogynistic violence. There has not yet been, however, a systematic examination of the ways in which some of these critical and feminist interventions are complicit in the reproduction of the logics of gender and race that structure the oppression and violence they take as their target. In this paper I argue that there is a powerful brand of governance feminism presenting insights on gender and P/CVE that securitises misogyny with little consideration of the distributed effects of this move on the operation of racialized and gendered power. I position governance feminism as a sub-category of white feminism and show that it is specifically white feminists who "walk the halls of power" in the institutions of liberal governance relevant to P/CVE (Halley 2006, 21). I draw on Black, decolonial, and intersectional feminist theory to show how P/CVE governance and its governance feminist critics presuppose the separation of gender and race such that race can be elided or effaced from analysis – or rather, such that gendered subjects are presented as race-neutral, in deeply problematic and limiting ways.

Decolonializing Transnational Feminist Knowledge Production: Challenging the Geopolitics of Epistemic Injustice from the Space of Trans-modernity

Jayati Lal, Wake Forest University

In the wake of the 2012 Delhi rape, the Indian government appointed a Judicial Committee to propose revisions to extant rape and sexual assault laws. The resulting report, which incorporated the testimony of over 80 women's and civil rights activist groups and feminist lawyers, proposed wide-ranging and radical legal changes. When news spread that Harvard-based feminist legal scholars were constituting a taskforce to advise the Indian government after the report's release, Indian feminists issued an open letter in response. Utilizing irony and humor as a form of decolonial politics, their letter highlighted the erasure of their activism by the Harvard feminists, which worked against their stated aim of transnational feminist solidarity and praxis. I examine this event as a symptom of ongoing epistemic injustice in feminist political projects and read the letter as an act of decolonial resistance to the transnational feminist logic of rescue that was immanent in the Harvard feminists' overture. This was not an example of sanctioned ignorance but a willful disregard of Indian feminists' activism by the Harvard feminists. Using a globalist discourse, they denounced the Indian feminist response as nationalist and sought to justify their taskforce on an equal footing to that of Indian feminists. I theorize the open letter as a form of thinking from the borders that reveals the

epistemic fault lines of imperial subjectivities. Drawing on decolonial feminist theorizing on transmodernity—as the epistemic and ontological space of the Other and from the borderlands—makes visible the geopolitics of knowledge in this instance and points to the need for translocal feminist politics based on bridging epistemologies in transnational feminism.

Embodying feminist and anti-colonial practices in knowledge creation processes

Judyannet Muchiri, Memorial University

Based on different research projects involving participants from multiple geographies, histories and knowledge communities, and informed by an activist – researcher - practitioner position, this paper focuses on the complexities and possibilities associated with feminist and anticolonial approaches in knowledge creation. How do these approaches, I ponder, enable us to cultivate safe/r spaces that present opportunities for radical change? I, thus, demonstrate how non-institutionalized safe/r spaces provide space for dissent, counter-narratives and, in turn, alternative knowledge systems. Finally, I highlight how this knowledge creation processes that attend to contextual specificities and centre particular ways of knowing that are divested from normative, racist and colonial knowledge systems can strengthen transnational solidarity among feminist activists.

Panel 1-2. Securitising Gender or Gendering Security: Perspectives from Asia

Moderator: Irine Hiraswari Gayatri

Irine is currently a PhD candidate at the Gender, Peace and Security (GPS) Centre, School of Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Monash University. She is also a senior researcher at Centre for Political Studies, National Institute for Research and Innovation in Indonesia. Her current research focuses on policy alignment of Preventing/ Countering Violent Extremism and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

Feminist and/or Indian: Possibilities of 'a gendersensitive Indian foreign policy'

Soumita Basu, South Asian University Stuti Bhatnagar, Australia National University

Indian foreign policy has not been associated with feminist principles or with any particular interest in gender, notwithstanding the deployment of Indian paramilitary soldiers in the first all female formed police unit of the UN Mission in Liberia (in 2007). However, there has been some interest within the country, in recent years, to explore what 'a gender-sensitive Indian foreign policy' might entail. The proposed paper seeks to read these explorations alongside the more established (albeit evolving) pillars of Indian foreign policy, to identify the synergies and contradictions between the two sets of policy interests. It focuses in particular on security policies, thus relating feminist policy proposals with, for instance, India's calls for disarmament in its early years to its preference for diplomacy over use of force in contemporary international conflicts. (Notably, it has also emerged as one of the world's largest arms importers in the last decade.) Methodologically, the paper relies on discourse analysis. This research is shaped by two specific goals. First, theoretically, it contends with the question: can any foreign policy be feminist, in light of the feminist critique of the state as an institution? Indian foreign policy serves as a case study here. Second, in relation to policymaking, it seeks to identify what appears to be possible – realizable – for feminist advocates seeking changes in Indian foreign policy? With its attention to synergies, the analysis presented in the proposed paper can offer insights into aspects of Indian foreign policy that may be compatible with feminist principles.

Gendered Enemy and the Populist Radical Right: Analysing the Securitization of Rohingya Refugees in India

Monika Barthwal-Datta, University of New South Wales (UNSW) Sydney Shweta Singh, South Asian University, New Delhi

How does the Modi government's populist radical right (PRR) politics impinge on India's response to major security challenges in South Asia, such as the Rohingya refugee crisis? Through an analysis of India's security policy towards Rohingya refugees, we demonstrate how the Modi government's PRR politics utilizes emotive gendered symbols embedded in frames of Hindu nationalism. It hinges upon a populist logic of friend-enemy antithesis, which constructs the identity of the self, and the other. In the case of the Rohingyas, it involves 'intertwined and mutually dependent representations of racialized, masculinized threat and racialized, feminized vulnerability' (Gray and Frank 2019, 275) where the Rohingya refugee, as the Muslim-Man, is discursively constructed as a threat to India's national security and its majoritarian idea of nationhood. We draw on Laclau's (2005) framework and a sociological approach to securitization, to undertake a discourse analysis of major populist right

publications (e.g. government publications, speeches, statements etc.) and demonstrate how Rohingya Refugees have been securitized in the official state discourses. We argue that the Modi government's PRR politics has narrowed the scope for policy-making in response to regional-level challenges, as it privileges nationalist-nativist agenda even in times of humanitarian crisis.

A Call for a Bottom-up Approach to Women, Peace and Security: A Feminist Political Economy Perspective on a Grassroots Women's Postwar Peace and Security Agenda in Nepal and Sri Lanka

Crystal Whetstone, Sam Houston State University Luna K.C., McGill University

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) promotes women's rights and advocates for peace in conflict-affected countries. We are concerned that such policies do not adequately address full, positive peace by highlighting how grassroots women's (non-elite) issues are regularly excluded from the mainstream WPS agenda, despite the unequal risk, violence, poverty, stigma, and discrimination grassroots women typically face. There is a dire need to re-evaluate the compounding economic, political, and social violences that hinder the equal implementation of the WPS agenda.

A feminist political economy perspective sheds light on how connections within the household, communities, national governments, and international spaces impact women's rights and full peace (True and Tanyag 2017). Building on feminist political economy scholarship and taking the case of Nepal and Sri Lanka, both post-war nations, we examine how effectively gender equality policies associated with WPS support grassroots women's issues in Nepal and Sri Lanka. Specifically, we ask: What roles and actions are government and non-government actors taking to implement WPS policies at the grassroots level in both countries?

Following an interpretive methodology, we use fieldwork interviews (with women from low-income, lower castes, and marginalized ethnic groups and communities such as Dalit women, racialized women, women-headed households, and war widows), newspapers as well as policy and non-governmental organizations (NGO) documents to highlight the need for attention and funding to realize the full peaceful potentials embedded in UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda to ensure women's full rights.

Panel 1-3. Neoliberalism And Feminism: Anti-Feminist or Post-Feminist? (Roundtable)

Moderators Israel, Lorna, Miriam College, and Melanie Reyes, Miriam College

Participants:

Vince Andre Sabellon, Miriam College
Jean Franco, University of the Philippines-Diliman
Archill Nina Capistrano, University of the Philippines-Cebu
Stefanie Albert, European School of Political and Social Sciences - Université Catholique de Lille

What's happening here? In 2014, a white, western, heterosexual, rich young woman and popular actor delivered a speech to launch the UN's "HeforShe" campaign. The speech was met with a thunderous approval and hailed as a 'game-changer for feminism.' The HeforShe" campaign is a call for boys/men to become gender equality advocates. It also includes corporate "champions" committed to promoting gender equality by using 'buying power.'

Corporations' involvement in gender equality has led scholars to call it 'post-feminism' operating within neoliberalism. Neoliberalism conceives individuals as already 'empowered, autonomous, and enterprising' consumers and outside social or political constraints. Viewed as a new 'discursive phenomenon,' post-feminism is a subject of debate for putting feminism in a predicament. Its political language of empowerment and equality has become a technical activity of autonomous and enterprising subjects with buying power. This is observable in health, self-help, or beauty products that are sold globally, or corporate claims to increase women's leadership and management position.

Whereas feminism stresses collective political action, post-feminism champions individualism as promoted by neoliberalism. Whereas feminism posits women's empowerment as achievement-in-progress, post-feminism suggests women as already empowered.

This roundtable discussion seeks to critically engage with neoliberalism's entanglement with feminist ideas and ideals. It would explore the following questions: what feminism can learn/unlearn from neoliberalism's discursive packaging of empowerment and gender equality; the implication of post-feminism to women and men hailed by neoliberal as 'empowered' subjects, and is post-feminism an anti-feminist phenomenon, particularly in Asia where neoliberalism prevails besides issues of disempowerment or inequality.

Panel 2-1. Feminist Connections In and Out of Academia: Making an Impact Through Feminist Research and Everyday Activism (Interactive Workshop)

Moderator: Monica Carrer, The Everyday Peace Initiative

Through this interactive session, we will discuss how feminist researchers could make an impact and transform gendered relationships of power. We will explore our embodied everyday experiences, taking into account relationships with our research subjects, academic environments, and other meaningful relationships that shape our experiences. I will draw from my own experience researching people's experiences of violent conflict in a post-conflict environment in West Bengal, India. Through my research, I have found out the importance of women and families in everyday peace action, and this led me to question how my research could support their efforts. This inspired me to co-found the 'Everyday Peace Initiative' and create a digital platform for social change, where activists and researchers can connect.

The session will be an interactive workshop to share our experiences and visions for feminist impact. We will discussion gendered and racial barriers in academia, and how as researchers we can can find ways for feminist resistance and action, through our research and beyond.

Panel 2-2. Child Marriage in an International Frame: A Feminist Review from India (Routledge, 2021,2022) by Prof. Mary John, CWDS New Delhi.

Refusing simplistic labels like "harmful practice", this book explores the complex history of child marriage as a social and feminist issue in India across different domains. It critically reviews a wide range of historical, demographic, and legal scholarship on the subject. Major concepts relevant to child marriage – such as childhood, adolescence, the girl, and marriage – are analysed in a comparative framework that uncovers the unnoticed presence of the practice in the USA and China. The volume questions existing approaches, analyses the latest data sources, and develops a new concept of compulsory marriage.

Chair: Prof Janaki Nair, JNU

Speakers:

Madhu Mehra, Partners for Law in Development Delhi

Hsing-Wen Chang, IIT Delhi

Samita Sen, University of Cambridge.

Panel 3: IFJP 2022 Virtual Reception

Hosted by Natália Maria Félix de Souza (co-Editor in Chief, IFjP) and friends

Open to all virtual participants on both the virtual and hybrid panels.

Panel 4-1: Sex, Gender and Womenhood in Asian Thought: 8th Century through 20th

The sex-balanced Neidan self-cultivation in the light of feminist philosophy

Zofia Wybieralska, National Chengchi University

The main focus of this paper is the philosophical investigation of an idea of gender-balanced inner cultivation, a spiritual and moral practice that emerged and developed in medieval China between the 8th and 12th century as a part of Daoist Internal Alchemy School neidanpai (內丹派). The author proposes a cross-cultural study inspired by western feminist philosophy's approach and aims to concentrate on the ontological and epistemological reasons for sex differentiation within Neidan self-cultivation methods together with historical and cultural reasons for gender differentiation in Chinese Confucian society of Tang and Song periods. The purpose of this analysis is to understand better the importance of sex-specification in Daoist life-nurturing practices yangsheng shu (養生術) and see it as an example of a culturally unique idea of "sex-balanced equality" xingbie pingheng (性别平衡). The following term can serve as an interesting alternative to the contemporary

globalized term of gender-equality xingbie pingdeng (性别平等) and rise new questions about sex or gender dynamics and identity of a person. The philosophical examination of sex-specific Daoist Internal Alchemy cultivation methods aims to provide a tool for uncovering our modern limitations and challenging our fixed, westernized standards, which can help us arrive at a bigger clarity in our words and thoughts while conducting comparative studies nowadays.

Currently, I am a PhD Candidate of the Philosophy department at the National Chengchi University in Taipei, Taiwan. I received an M.A. at Beijing Normal University in 2016 in Chinese Philosophy. My research interests include Chinese and transcultural philosophy, especially in the sphere of ethics, religion, and everyday practice. Additionally, I am also working as a Chinese-Polish and Polish-Chinese translator and interpreter.

Eroding Sexism: A Yogācāra Dialectics of Gender

Jingjing Li, Leiden University

In this article, I explore how we can expand the project of Buddhist feminism by drawing on Chinese Yogācāra philosophy. With a focus on the writings of Xuanzang (c. 604-662) and his disciple Kuiji (632-682), I investigate how the Yogācāra theory of consciousness can be read as a gendered account of non-duality. The term Yogācāra dialectics is thus coined to describe this theory of non-duality that highlights fluidity and transformability. As I will argue, Chinese Yogācārins developed the dialectics of gender by means of which they were able to subtly erode sexism in premodern times.

Forging the Ideal Muslim Womanhood, Behshti Zewar, Dramas and Post-Colonial Nation-State of Pakistan

Ali Abid, Islamabad, Pakistan/Quaid I Azam University

This article is about women forming colonial and post-colonial times to produce pious women's bodies' in order to save and contest the collective identity of community. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi monumental text Beheshti Zewar (Heavenly Ornaments) is taken as a colonial period text to explore the production of women trained pious bodies in late colonial India and modern Pakistani dramas as a postcolonial modern genre of forging the ideal womanhood. This combined analysis of Behshti zewar and modern Pakistani dramas is to show that women's bodies remained as an ideal site to reform in order to save the community from external and internal evils. Behshti zewar was the text, wrote in 1905 to educate the Muslim women by religious dictation to save them from the moral destruction brought by colonial modernity and cultural dogmas. The Pakistanis dramas are also fall in this line to reform the women bodies in order to protect the collective esteem of Muslim nationalism of Pakistan from moral destruction. In post-colonial nation state of Pakistan, regulation of women bodies continued to preserve the Muslim identity and faith-based nationalism. Like in colonial India where women bodies were used as a site to construct the Muslim identity, in post-colonial Pakistan, women bodies remained as an ideal site to be regulated in order to preserve the Muslim identity of

Pakistanis. No specific dramas are selected rather Lines, dialogue and events are randomly selected from the popular Tv dramas relevant to the study of this paper in order to look into more general picture.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's anti-imperial internationalist praxis from below

Shruti Balaji, London School of Economics

My paper studies Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay (1903-1988), an Indian social and political activist, as a praxis-oriented international thinker. To do so, I first contextualise Kamaladevi's thought and highlight my interpretive method in theorising Kamaladevi's texts as grounded in, and intimately linked to, her praxis. Focusing on her transboundary anti-imperial civil-society activism, I conceptualise Kamaladevi's counter-hegemonic 'internationalism from below', as a strand of international thought attentive to globally connected questions of race, imperialism, and international political struggles of the marginalised. Specifically, I argue that it was Kamaladevi's balance of the individual and collective, the critical and the creative, that lent a unique tilt to her internationalist thought and allowed her to navigate complex anti-imperial politics. Empirically, I demonstrate how Kamaladevi 'reverses the imperial gaze', through her critique of British and French imperial rule and her evaluation of racism faced by the African diaspora, as mutually imbricated issues. Ultimately, I draw two conclusions for the study of histories of international thought. First that Kamaladevi's ideas help us capture the salience of praxis as an important location of twentieth-century international thought. Secondly, I underline how her thought-practice helps us capture the liminality of taken-for-granted concepts in international thought.

Panel 4-2. Queer Bodies: Solidarities, Activism and Knowledge Resources

Moderator: Sarah Gharib Seif

Sarah is an Egyptian doctoral candidate, based at the University of St Andrews in Scotland, UK. Sarah's research interests include postcolonial, decolonial and feministapproaches to IR, critical approaches to terrorism, the politics and creation of narratives and discourses, and the intersections of gender, race and religion, and citizenship.

Queer Production(s) of Knowledge: An Analysis of LGBTIQ+ Asylum Resources

Madison Miszewski, University of Cambridge

What is the nature of knowledge? This question has plagued the white, cis-het, male Academy since its very inception. While it has been suggested that the nature of knowledge is entangled with truth, evidence, or institutions - there's an evident dearth of popular academic writing about how knowledge is always gendered, sexualized, and racialized. This paper takes a daring leap into the understanding that knowledge we produce as members of the academy as fundamentally shaped by our lived experiences - whether or not we believe it to be. It does so through the exploration of two key cases of gendered and sexualized knowledge production: a report on 'LBG' asylum seekers by the UK Home Office, and the Dear British Airways Campaign by Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants. Deep dives through these resources excavate an understanding of knowledge as always biased. At its core, this paper centers queer methods of existence like those proposed by Ocean Vuong by asking the reader 'are we asking enough of the knowledge we produce?'

Haunting justice: Queer bodies, ghosts, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

Caitlin Biddolph, University of Sydney

International criminal justice mechanisms contain stories of war and violence. These stories establish survivors and victims, perpetrators, and scenes of trauma, offering particular forms of evidence and truths about embodied experiences of violation. All bodies are subject to violence, but not all bodies are heard – or seen – in spaces of international criminal justice. In this paper, I argue that queer bodies, that is, those with non-normative sexual and gender practices and identities (e.g., LGBTQIA+), are largely missing from international criminal justice discourses. While queer bodies are frequently targets of violence, their stories are excised from the findings and prosecution of crimes by these mechanisms. Embracing a queer hauntological approach, I focus on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and argue that queer bodies figure in ghostly and spectral ways. Drawing inspiration from Laura McLeod's (2019) reading of 'missing' women and ghosts in the Bosnian peace process, I ask: how do queer bodies figure in ICTY discourse and jurisprudence, and what are the implications of this; and how can queer ghosts disrupt cisheteronormative representations of justice? The paper deconstructs the assumption that all violent and violated bodies are stable, straight, and cis-gender, and that queer spectral figures can challenge this legal subjectivity. In doing so, I reveal how queer bodies and stories are written out of ICTY discourses, but in their ghostliness, in their haunting, there always already exists the possibility of disruption.

A Study of Intersectional Discourse Using Twitter: Evidence from Turkey

Maria Wilson, Rutgers University

In 2011, Turkey was the first country to sign the Istanbul Convention, a Council of Europe document on preventing and combating gender-based violence and domestic violence. Since then, 45 Council of Europe member countries have signed the document. In 2021, Turkey unilaterally withdrew from the Convention. Turkey's withdrawal from the Convention occurred in a political context in which the country has been experiencing a backsliding into an authoritarian regime (Savas and Pamuk, 2019; Arslanalp and Erkmen, 2020) under President Recep Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP). The Turkish government's Director of Communications explained that the country left the Istanbul Convention because it "originally intended to promote women's rights, [but] was hijacked by a group of people attempting to normalize homosexuality – which is incompatible with Turkey's social and family values" (Statement, 2021). The anti-LGBTI stance taken by the government threatens the rights of LGBTI individuals and uses homophobia as an excuse to retract their commitment to protecting women's rights. Using intersectionality as a theoretical framework for analyzing social media content (Brown et al., 2017), we assess the impact of the Turkish government's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention on the mobilization of intersectional discourse on LGBTI and women's rights on Twitter.

'Sexual subaltern' as a condition of queer-feminist solidarity: A postcolonial proposition from the lyrics of Bangla folk songs

Nasrin Khandoker, National University of Ireland, Galway and Jahangirnagar University

While foundational queer theoretical texts provided a feminist-queer common ground, they were later directed in two different ways. In this context, I propose a theoretical common ground for queer-feminist solidarity beyond their difference from a postcolonial perspective by focusing on the process of marginalisation due to sexual desire. To situate this common ground, I redefine the term 'sexual subaltern' from my research examining the perils and pleasures of female sexual subjectivity, expressed through a genre of Bangla folk songs Bhawaiya. 'Sexual subaltern', a concept coined by Ratna Kapur (2000) defined as the opposite of heterosexual, married, monogamous, reproductive and non-commercial sexual orientation, leaves no room for my research to see the women of Bhawaiya songs with 'deviant' desire as sexual subaltern. Hence, considering the prospect of the concept to enable solidarity within the people with 'deviant' sexual desire, I propose to redefine it, focusing on marginality instead of homonormative (Duggan 2006) sexual identity. I used the term subaltern interchangeably with marginalisation while concentrating on the sexual desire and anger against marital inequality of women expressed through those songs. I see 'sexual subaltern' not as an identity but as a condition that can constitute a common ground based on deviance from heteronormativity, including the extra-marital desire of women in Bengal. I see the possibility of its

challenge to the oppressive hetero-patriarchal marital norms, creating a common ground for feminist and queer theories from the global South.

Panel 4-3. Multilocational Conversations about Women, Power, and Political Leadership

"Hybrid Women's Leadership": Proposing a Non-Western Theory Through Experiences of Indonesian Women Political Leaders

Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

There is rising attention on women's leadership worldwide, but lacking attention on the new theory of women's leadership based on Asian women's experiences. By echoing post-colonial feminism which criticized the global hegemony of Western feminism scholarship, this paper examines theory of feminist leadership through the case of Indonesian women political leaders who won direct local elections from 2000-2017. I argue that none of women political leaders fit fully into feminist leadership, and they are mainly fit into women's leadership. Some rationale behind the failure to acquire some quality of feminist leadership such as to challenge patriarchy is rooted into the origin of their power which is highly attached to prominent male politicians who often parts of local oligarchy networks. This phenomenon is related to current trend of increasing number of the elected women political leaders in Indonesian local politics who comes from familial ties/political dynasty background, which is also part of the bigger picture of Asian women's political leaders' route to power. This paper concludes that oligarchy triumph over feminism in Indonesian politics, now. Through the case, this paper proposes a new synthesis of "hybrid women's leadership" in which women leaders are able to taking spaces within oligarchy networks, exercising agency, but does not necessarily means challenges patriarchy. The "hybrid women's leadership" concept enables researchers to capture experiences of women's political leaders from Asia which might not fit into the feminist leadership theory, to recognize contribution of Asian women's political leaders in coloring practice, discourse, and theory of women's leadership in Asia.

Women in political power (case of Russian regions)

Natalya Kolesnik, The Sociological Institute of the RAS – Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences

The report presents the results of an empirical study of career paths and the educational level of the political elite of ten Russian regions (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Leningrad, Kostroma, Kaliningrad, Novosibirsk and Rostov oblasts, Republic of Dagestan, Khabarovsk and Stavropol krai). The structural and biographical analysis (649 biographies) revealed the gender specificity of parliaments in Russian regions. The obtained data shows that despite the fact that basically the voter "admits" a woman to power structures, elite reproduction takes place on a closed basis. Most often, women's entrance to the regional parliament is not random and is a continuation of their professional path (most often administrative, party, economic). A steady process of horizontal movement from one elite position to another is observed. It is shown that in the regions under consideration there is a professionalization of politics and a pool (that includes female deputies) of politicians is forming. Moreover, even if a relatively significant number (from 20% and above) of women falls into the parliamentary elite (for example, Moscow, St. Petersburg or the Khabarovsk krai), there still is no open competition for a seat in parliament between candidates to deputies and the gender profile of the Russian government does not change radically. The analysis of the age, educational, social and professional structure of the political elite made it possible to identify a stable process of reproduction of the gender order within political regional elites. In general, the old gender order is preserved within the Russian political elite, which is predominantly reproduced by the type of quasicirculation (in the terminology of D. Higley). At the same time, the political elite is actively professionalizing, intertwining with the economic elite and is generally socially closed to the influx of "new people" to positions.

Zoom Diplomacy: Risks and Opportunities to Women's Meaningful Participation

Outi Donovan, Griffith University

Peace talks have traditionally been dominated by men. According to research, women account for 13 per cent of negotiators and 6 per cent of signatories of formal peace agreements (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019). This is a significant problem in that women's meaningful participation in peace processes is linked to increased likelihood of reaching agreements and implementing them (Caprioli et al 2010). Barriers to women's participation in peace processes include conservative gender norms and logistical problems pertaining to lack of personal security, transportation and childcare. The Covid-19 pandemic has, however, changed the format of peace talks in a way that may have important implications to women's participation. The traditional shuttle diplomacy has been complemented by virtual negotiations in online platforms, such as Zoom, in conflict zones ranging from Syria, Iraq and Libya to Afghanistan and Yemen. This suggests that the move to online spaces has the potential to address the logistical barriers to women's participation by removing the need to

travel to a negotiating venue and alleviating some of the gendered power dynamics often present in face-to-face mediation (Bramsen and Hagemann 2020). These features of virtual peace negotiations represent an important opportunity to address the issue of gender imbalance in peace processes. Against the above backdrop, this paper investigates the effects of virtualisation of peace negotiations on women's meaningful participation. Through an analysis of virtualisation of peace processes in Libya and Yemen, the paper offers some initial observations on the risks and opportunities of virtualisation to women's meaningful participation.

Panel 5-1. Feminist Methodologies on Emotions and Affect

What gets left on the cutting floor? Feminist reflections on reading fiction as fieldwork in IR

Shambhawi Tripathi, University of St Andrews

In a special issue on the intersection of feminist methods and emotions, Christine Sylvester lamented how "the emotional words that had come tumbling out with great expressiveness, landed stale" on her pages when she tried to distil her textured interview data to make sense within flat academic spaces (Sylvester 2011: 18). Elizabeth Dauphinee recounts a similar, personal loss when she feels disrupted by the emotional proximity she encounters with her research subject which renders her distanced from her written research itself (Dauphinee 2013). It is clear then, that for feminists, emotional research unsettles the otherwise strict boundaries between researcher and researched (Mupiddi 2013), and therefore, allows us to explore what missed worlds lie beyond the one where the feminist researcher needs to stand outside of her research. This paper seeks to build upon existing work which seeks to bridge the primarily emotional gap between researcher and researched, by proposing a feminist reworking of the 'field' as a geographical site and 'fieldwork' as the knowledge produced from/about such sites. When research is both-personal and about the personal (Sjoberg 2011), it requires not just an encounter with emotional subjects, but an emotional recounting of the discipline itself. By locating magic realist fiction in my own research as 'emotional fields' populated by 'emotional subjects', I argue that feminist engagements can help (re)turn the international into a space where emotional subjects as well as emotional research processes can bring themselves to bear upon and transform the discipline, rather than being left out of it.

Care in the time of Pandemic Precarity: Digital Activism and Public Affect in India

Meghana Rao, Azim Premji University

Shilpaa Anand, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Birla Institute of Technology and Science Pilani

Narratives of socio-economic, medical and affective struggles emerged during and after the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic in India. Tracing activist collaborations of mutual aid networks, the proposed paper studies two digital media sites (Our Bodies as Evidence and Count Every Death campaign) as technologies of care in relation to the feminist discourse on the politics of care. These activist digital collaborations render visible: (i) Covid-19 deaths that were made invisible within the State statistics, (ii) experiences of precarity of different marginalized groups such as the taxi drivers, garbage collectors, grave diggers and transgender women and lastly (iii) the deaths caused due to a weakened healthcare system that subject its citizens to shortage of oxygen, hospital beds and medication in public and private hospitals. Building on queer and feminist scholarship which argues that expressions of anger and pain have potential for transformation (Ahmed 2010, Cvetkovich 2012, Lorde 1984), we demonstrate that the two digital spaces emerged as spaces of collective mourning, that witness and memorialize the pain and anger caused by the uncaring state system. Additionally, we extend Hester Baer's work which examines feminist digital activism on precarity and insecurity as generative and as having the potential for political agency (2015). Developing the concept of radical care, we invoke Miriam Ticktin's idea that care is not necessarily a prescribed set of practices, instead a form of political imagination with the potential to fuel hope and desire for transformative action (2019, 2021). Similarly, we argue that the two digital acts are not necessarily ones of overt affection and attachment but instead a form of care that is about responsibility and mutuality (Ticktin 2020, 2021).

The Killing of Refugees: Ethics and the Complexity of Refugee Subjectivity in International Relations

Salma El Refaei, Carleton University

Despite challenging the centrality of state sovereignty, as a concept, in IR, refugees have been relegated to the margins of the discipline. Situated at the intersection of theorizations of subjectivity, ethics reflexivity, feminist methods, and turns to the study of the everyday, this paper aims to rectify the marginalization of refugees and reorient the ethics of refugee research to highlight refugee subjectivity and affect, building alliances with refugees, and recognizing them as co-producers of knowledge. This project asks: what ethical orientation informs engagement with refugees in IR which does not collapse the complexity of their suffering into a preconceived ethicopolitical project? I posit that an ethics of care approach to research engages with refugees as complex, vulnerable, resilient and relational offering pathways to incorporate oral histories, family

stories and vulnerable writing as core methods for refugee-centered research and teaching. To accomplish this, my research will proceed in three steps. First, I am reviewing articles on refugees published in 15 IR journals. In this literature review, I focus on the ethics and methods used in the research. In a second step, I will investigate the rationales behind the research designs chosen by researchers by conducting extended semi-structured interviews with 15 IR scholars whose work I reviewed in the first step. The interviews will prompt these scholars to reflect on how their ethics shaped their relationship with and presentation of refugees. Informed by these insights on reflexivity, the third step of my research will be an autoethnography of the researcher-refugee relationship based on working with a refugee research partner. Through these steps, I am aiming to reorient research in the field to mindfully bridge the distance, bringing, with care, refugees to the center of research and the classroom.

Digital Feminism beyond Nativism and Empire: Affective Territories of Recognition and Competing Claims to Suffering in Iranian Women's Campaigns

Sara Tafakori, University of Leeds

There has been a growing affective intensity on Farsi social media around Iranian women's rights protests, particularly mobilizations against the compulsory hijab. This intensity has crystallized into a variety of emotions: the anger, joy, and defiance of Iranian women protesting against the hijab inside the country; the outrage at the injustice these actions communicate; and the anger and anxiety of Iranian critics on both the Right and the Left, among both the Iranian establishment and ordinary people. Yet oversimplified counterpositions between "global" and "local," West and East, dominate both legacy-media and social-media narratives of women's rights campaigning, resulting, as I show, in the circulation of binary genres of "authentic" versus "inauthentic" protest that generate anger and anxiety. In this vein, the traumatic experience of economic sanctions, as the master signifier of West-East conflict in Iranian online exchanges, often frames human rights discourses as inauthentic, in that these discourses are positioned as emanating from the West. Understanding the politics of emotion around these mobilizations allows one to attend more closely to the contentions and fissures that traverse women's struggles within Iran and, I argue, to develop a politics of affective recognition as a basis for constructing feminist solidarities across and within borders. A focus on anger and rage, among other feelings, helps us not only to trace the binary oppositions that characterize online discourses around these protests but to capture their unstable ambivalence between authenticity and inauthenticity, inside and outside, their potential to point beyond existing boundaries and demarcations, and to permit new imaginings of territoriality.

Panel 5-2. Global- Local Tensions: Locating Feminist Activism, Agency and Analysis

Moderator: Komal Rajak

Komal Rajak is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at IISER Mohali. She has defended her Doctoral thesis, "Contextualizing Hindu Code Bill in Women's Empowerment: An Inquiry into Hindu Women's Property Rights (2021).

Negotiating Constraint and Freedom: The Relevance of Pandita Ramabai's Life and Work for Indian Feminists' Engagement with Religion.

Roopa Rathnam, Independent researcher, Bengaluru, India

One of the legacies that the Enlightenment bequeathed to western liberal feminists was the critique of religion. This encouraged feminists to promote secularism as a call to relegate religious practice to the private sphere. Postcolonial theorists argue that interventions around secularism that were specific to post-Reformation European Christianity have been applied as universal principles onto other contexts, through the domination of the colonizing process. Indian feminists' engagement with religion has been influenced by dominant discourses in the western liberal traditions. The engagement with religion among Indian feminists has been uneven, despite their united opposition to communalism in the subcontinent and restrictive aspects of religious personal law. This paper draws on my doctoral research on the life of Pandita Ramabai, a nineteenth century social reformer from present day Maharashtra, India to offer a more complex reading of Indian religious feminist agency. By providing an analysis of the overtly Christian projects undertaken by Pandita Ramabai in her later years (1900-1922) at the Mukti Mission, I challenge views held by Indian feminists that render her a problematic icon for their movements. Building on postcolonial critique of liberal feminist frameworks on religious agency and invoking Dalit theology, I argue that Pandita Ramabai sharpened her political challenge to Brahmanical patriarchy by deploying feminist theology and radicalizing mission building.

Roopa Rathnam has recently submitted her doctoral thesis at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, JNU, India. Her thesis enquires into the area of feminist engagement with religion, with particular focus on the relevance of Pandita Ramabai's legacy in this regard for contemporary Indian Women's Movements.

Law Enforcement on Sex Crimes in Egypt 2020-2021

Fatma Khattab

The last few years in the Egyptian context witnessed a rise in social crimes which relate mainly to Gender-based violence crimes against different types of women and girls. The last decade also saw the rise of social movements, political transformations, economic deteriorating conditions and the elevation of the state of education in Egypt socially and economically. However, with the pressing harsh socio-economic conditions and the state of political oppression; those conditions may have been leading to multiple forms of assault against women in public, private or at the place of work. Commonly, sex crimes against women in Egypt took the top attention of observers, policy and law makers with journalists.

Nonetheless, not many civil society organizations managed to drive the community and the government's attention towards the rising rate of sex crimes against women in Egypt whether against foreign (immigrants, refugees or visitors) or citizens. In some time after 2011, some social groups tried to work together into forming a sexual harassment map to help guiding women in Egypt, to understand areas of concern. While the National Egyptian Council for Women targeted cases of violence against women, aired TV/Ad shows which normalize attacks on women, and released some public statements to address women safety as a priority in the country.

Between the years 2020-2021, Egypt faced abnormal weird cases of sex crimes from the Fairmont Girl, to the MeToo sexual assault, Mansoura group harassment, and the multiple female minors raped or asaulted in different areas in Egypt.

Hence, how far the fast rate of socio-economic changes have never favored a better sex education in Egypt? Why has Egypt become a hostile place for women to have better education, well-established careers and social networks? Has modernizing or islamizing Egypt favored its women or made them a target for political polarization and social violence crimes?

Hence, this paper will address current Egypt's laws on sex crimes and how the government handled the rising rate of crimes committed against women, whether Egypt will make any further law changes, or Egypt will simply cross over sex offences against women by hiding them inside caves?

Women of Hindutva and the "Muslim other"

Salonee Shital, Jawaharlal Nehru University

The current article aims to bring the attention to the facade of women empowerment within the Hindu right in India. It focuses on women of the ruling Bhartiya Janta Party leaders as well as members of the sister branch of the RSS— the Rastriya Sevika Samiti. Being a part of the latter organization as a teenager, I would try to interpret my experiences in the organization. The paper would focus on Hindu nationalist definition of Hindu femininity and their expression of womanhood and woman empowerment that is always juxtaposed with the oppressed Muslim woman and is essentially based on demonisation of the Muslim man. Women who prescribe to Hindu nationalists version of "feminism" not only find it impossible to extend the cause of sisterhood to include Muslim

women but often have the tone of saving Muslim women from "their men". An understanding that became all the more clear in the recent law passed by the BJP that banned instant triple talaq; where prime minister Modi was hailed as the savior of Muslim women. The BJP also has had tried to sneak in Hindu laws in the garb of Universal Civil Code undermining the Muslim personal law. The UCC has been supported by Hindu nationalist women organizations. There has also been an increase in cases of "love jihad" and the unlawful jailing and lynching of young Muslim men for marrying or being involved with Hindu women. The paper therefore makes a conscious effort to delve into the creation of the narrative of the "lecherous Muslim man" who is a threat to the chastity of the Hindu women and to the liberation of the Muslim women — who in Hindu nationalist's accounts has no agency.

Beyond The 'Jihadi Bride': Re-Conceptualising Feminist Approaches to Agency

Sarah Gharib Seif, University of St Andrews

In 2015, the 'phenomenon' of women traveling to join the Islamic State seemed to have taken over the news, with regular mentions of disbelief of why they would decide to leave their 'ideal' Western lives to join a 'barbaric' terrorist group. Various attempts to engage with the roles these women have played (and media coverage of it) has focused on a shallow interpretation of agency, and depictions thereof. Moreover, much of the existing literature on women involved in terrorism not only focuses on the personal, but it treats the women themselves as the challenge for the existing parameters and policies set by the state, whilst simultaneously avoiding how these policies are inherently gendered. Feminist security studies has argued against the dismissal of women using gendered language which erases their agency. However, this still exists within the shallow binary of "having" agency. This paper seeks to meaningfully theorise agency beyond this binary and towards considering what this agency enables. Further, what relationships and directions does agency facilitate? How do they interpret the sources of agency? How are our feminist ideas of agency situated within (neo)colonial and (neo)imperial constructions of what it means to exercise agency, and how has this binary been used as a tool of colonial and gendered control and oppression? Using the case study of the women who joined IS and the government and media narratives around them, and building on postcolonial and decolonial feminist theorisations, this paper aims to take a step towards a deeper conceptualisation of agency.

Sarah is an Egyptian doctoral candidate, based at the University of St Andrews in Scotland, UK. Sarah's research interests include postcolonial, decolonial and feministapproaches to IR, critical approaches to terrorism, the politics and creation of narratives and discourses, and the intersections of gender, race and religion, and citizenship. She received her undergraduate degree in IR from St Andrews and holds an M.A. in International Peace and Security from King's College London. She previously worked as a researcher on PRELT at CCCPA, with a focus gender, terrorism, and DDR, as well as a geopolitics and social media intelligence analyst.

Panel 5-3. Feminist Disruptions, Activism and Knowledge Production in Contemporary East Asia

Feminist critique of knowledge production in response to the "Ramseyer incident"

Woohee Kim, Harvard University

This paper engages in a feminist critique of sexism and colonialism embedded in academic knowledge production in relation to J. Mark Ramseyer's article "Contracting for Sex in the Pacific War," published in the International Review of Law and Economics. The article received global criticism from scholars for its conflation of Japanese military sexual slavery to free-willing prostitution and its lack of academic integrity, evident in misappropriation of sources. I interrogate the "Ramseyer incident," the publication of Ramseyer's article and subsequent global criticism, from a feminist perspective that questions knowledge production shaped by colonial, hegemonic influences. In particular, I analyze the 'Feminist Open Letter Regarding Harvard Law School Mitsubishi Professor John Mark Ramseyer's Scholarship on Japanese military "comfort women", 'a petition signed by 1000+ scholars, students, and citizens that calls for critical engagement with the perpetuation of sexual violence, sexism, patriarchy, colonialism, and racism in academic spheres. In my closing reading of the Ramseyer incident and the Feminist Open letter, I attend to the implications of academic knowledge that upholds sexist discourses at the expense of uncovering interlocking systems of oppression. Finally, I trace how the reshaping of knowledge production via survivor testimonials and discourses against sexual violence built through the global movement for justice on the Japanese military sexual slavery issue could be extended to remapping feministoriented knowledge production. In doing so, I present grassroots feminist knowledge-making from the margins as an alternative to dominant Western, hegemonic academic knowledge production.

Unexpected Women's Solidarity and Anti-Feminist Backlashes around 'Fearless Girl' and the 'Comfort Women Statue'

Minju Lee, University of Connecticut Chloe Kwak, University of Connecticut San Lee, University of Connecticut

'Fearless Girl' and the 'Comfort Women Statue' have many different characteristics but their agency has similar impacts on building networks around them. While 'Fearless Girl' was built for promoting female empowerment, the 'Comfort Women Statue' was installed for memorializing war victims. This paper aims to investigate the unexpected women's solidarity and anti-feminist backlashes around 'Fearless Girl' and the 'Comfort Women Statue.' We argue that networks created between the agency of statues and human actors build women's solidarity and anti-feminist backlashes, based on the Actor-Network-Theory. This paper analyzes three aspects of the dynamics of networks. First, we contend that the agency of two statues establishes feminist networks and women's loose solidarity. Second, we suggest that anti-feminist networks have been formed as backlashes against the feminist networks reactively. Third, we emphasize the conflicts between the feminist and antifeminist networks. One sculptor put the statue of a urinating dog next to 'Fearless Girl.' Feminists protested against his sexist expression, and the anti-feminist group fostered conflicts by justifying and supporting the sculptor's behavior. The 'Comfort Women Statue' also has faced anti-feminist backlashes such as sexual insults on the statue. Against the backlashes, feminist networks have urged to guarantee legal protection for the statute and bolster feminist solidarity by promoting collective actions.

'Comfort women' politics and depoliticizations: Connections and contestations

Anna-Karin Eriksson, Linnaeus University

Contestations over the 'comfort women' issue are articulated in representations of comfort women as 'sex slaves' and 'prostitutes' respectively. This paper connects these representations to feminist and history-revisionist positions in the increasingly polarized space of the comfort women issue and contextualizes the claims that they each entail as the products of particular histories and diverging calls for justice. By understanding the current impasse over the comfort women issue as the product of competing gender regimes, the paper explores how different ways of historicizing and judicializing national autonomy and international human rights depoliticize and reduce history to discourse at survivors' expense and to the detriment of attention to gendered violence. By suggesting that claims to national autonomy, on the one hand, and claims to international human rights, on the other hand, contextualize the gender regimes at work in the domestic context in Japan, the paper accounts for how contestations over domestic and international politics end up feeding claims to history and justice into the gender regimes that structure the comfort women

issue. Comfort women politics, in the midst of this current impasse, emerges in survivors and their supporters' attempts to open up for embodied practices of reckoning with this history, apart from these depoliticizing moves. The paper concludes by differentiating history from justice and survivors' justice from the law.

Chinese journalists' varying practices in reporting on sexual assault in the era of #MeToo

Siyu Chen, Centre for Women's Studies, University of York

In 2018, when the #MeToo movement spread to China, sexual assault cases affecting women and girls from all walks of life (at university, in the workplace, in religious institutions, and beyond) gained increased public attention. Despite this, Chinese journalists have run up against a complex set of challenges when engaging with the #MeToo movement or attempting to report on sexual violence in the news and on social media. This article further records Chinese journalists' resistance or obedience when #MeToo became a politically sensitive term, and sexual assault news coverage faced censorship, via in-depth interviews with 22 journalists in China during October 2020-January 2021. Research shows that in practice, those journalists can be divided into three types: dissenting, submissive and adaptive. Specifically, dissenting journalists insisted on critically paying attention to sexual violence cases against women and girls, pointing out varying inequalities and injustices (e.g., gender and power inequalities) behind sexual assault cases. Submissive journalists endorse a series of political practices of the Chinese authorities, disseminating 'positive energy' and restraining the #MeToo movement, for example. In-between the two types (dissenting and submissive), adaptive journalists tend to adjust their reporting style and strategies of reporting on sexual violence, and strive to justify their sexual assault news reporting in a politically anti-MeToo context. This article sheds new light on Chinese journalists' diverse roles in covering sexual assault stories. It shows that although misogynistic remarks and distrust against female victim-survivors still exist among a small number of journalists, most journalists have made their efforts to break rape myths and media stereotypes.

Siyu Chen is a 3rd-year PhD candidate at York's Centre for Women's Studies and is supported by the China Scholarship Council – UoY joint scholarship. Her doctoral research focuses on media and gender in the Chinese newsroom, and her research builds on Chen's professional experience as a journalist in several Chinese state-owned and commercial media outlets such as Xinhua News Agency London, Shaanxi Broadcasting Corporation, etc.

Panel 6-1. Military, Militarism and Protection: Seeking Possibilities of Peace Outside in

Moderator: Beth Greener, Massey University

Sportsmen Warriors and Soldier Athletes: The (un)making of the gender binary?

Elin Berg, Swedish Defence University, Stockholm and Tanya Kini, Banglore, India. Most recently affiliated with the Graduate Institute, IHEID

What is common between sports and armed forces? Contributions on militarism, gender and sport have outlined how military metaphors penetrate much of sport discourse and jargon, making the soccer field a battlefield, an athlete a virile warrior/hero, and sportsmen defenders of nations. Sport is currently struggling with the acceptance of multiple gender and sexual identities that is considered a threat against its strict gender binary and body politics. Similarly, militaries across the world oscillate between presenting a more open-minded view of LGBTQI individuals while denying support and assistance to those individuals who are part of their groups who also identify as (gender)queer. Less explored is what happens to ideals of ability and aptitude when these previously hypermasculine and male-dominated arenas move toward an inclusion of subjects that do not fit a gendered, sexed and raced mold. How might athletes or soldiers that identify as (gender)queer face allegations of "inadequacy" or uncertainty in spaces that actively works both against and for recognising and including queer people within their boundaries? What can sport learn from studying the military and vice versa? In this interdisciplinary article, we draw from queer theory(ies), feminist security studies and sport political theory(ies) to explore how militarism in sport and athleticism in military organizations are co-constitutive processes dependent on the gender binary as a primary source of authority. Looking at discursive frames shaping policy in sports and armed forces, we will then unpack how gender and sexuality determines perceptions of ability and aptitude.

Blankets or quilts? Unarmed civilian protection as spatial-relational practice

Felicity Gray, Washington DC / Australian National University

The protection of civilians is a spatial-relational practice. Different practices of protection – armed, unarmed, civilian, military – shape varying forms and experiences of protective space. Conversely, different forms of protective space shape different relational possibilities between actors. Though critiques from this perspective of conventional protection mechanisms such as the use of United Nations peacekeepers are well developed, spatial explorations of alternative forms of protection are more limited. In this paper, I explore how unarmed civilian protection – a form of protection practiced by both NGOs, and by communities themselves – shapes understandings and practices of protective space in different ways to conventional protection mechanisms. Through a fine-grained ethnographic examination of unarmed civilian protection practices in the context of the civil war in South Sudan, I argue that rather than fixating on material boundaries of protective space (the border of a state, a fenced off Protection of Civilians site, the creation of protective zones) and securing these spaces through force, unarmed civilian protection practices rely on relations to create protective space across conventional boundaries. This results in protective space being recognised and utilised in different scales, particularly at the level of the personal: the stitching together of a collective, relational quilt - rather than a top-down, blanket solution - for the challenges of protection.

Militarized Resistance: The Righteous Revolutionary and Everyday Violence in Post-Conflict Spaces

Kara Hooser, Ohio State University

Feminist activists and scholars alike have long recognized the connections and co-constitutive relationship between militarism and masculinities. In feminist peace studies, research reveals militarized masculinities and their accompanying logics as spoilers for peacebuilding at all levels of society, from the elites who broker top-down peace agreements to everyday people learning to recover from violence. The feminist body of work has highlighted a number of key logics through which violence is often justified in gendered terms, including Elshtain's just warriors, Young's masculinist protectors, and, more recently, Wegner's helpful heroes. Building off this scholarship, I offer an additional justificatory logic which obscures the persistence of violence in post-conflict spaces: the righteous revolutionary. In the vein of recent work from Jasmine Gani, I shed light on a masculinist logic informed by anti and de-colonial sentiments and reinforced with racialized and gendered stigmas which dehumanize Others and render violence thinkable in post-conflict communities. Using an intersectional lens to examine interviews and focus groups in Northern Ireland and Burundi, I explore the righteous revolutionary as a particular script about masculinity

that marries racialized and gendered tropes with militarism in spaces marked by imperial encounters. I further argue that understanding the function of the righteous revolutionary logic in these communities and how it relates to the persistence of everyday violence is key to mapping paths forward for the building of relational, grounded peace in day-to-day life.

Panel 6-2. What is the State of Feminist Academia and Knowledge Production Today?

Who gets to be a feminist? Racial hierarchies within feminist academia

Francesca Earp, James Cook University

The racialized hierarchies of feminist academia mean that feminist theory is still predominantly written by white women situated within Western institutions. Feminisms coming from the Asian region remain particularly peripheralized, often being perceived as archaic. This paper presents a bibliometric analysis of Asian authored feminist publications across three leading feminist journals and two reputable journals identified as having higher than average Asian authorship. The study aimed to understand the acceptance and inclusion of Asian academic contributions in dominant feminist discourses. Findings of the study demonstrated that Asian authorship of feminist literature was low across both the selected leading feminist journals and the Asian identified journals. Across all publications only 3.2% of articles were authored by Asian academics affiliated with Asian institutions and 1.6% by Asian academics affiliated with Western institutions. Additionally, analysis of Asian authored literature found different representations of Asian feminism in leading feminist journals compared to Asian identified journals, suggesting that Asian authors are only able to contribute to dominant feminist conversations when drawing on Western feminist theory. This study advances existing claims that feminist scholarship from within the Asian region continues to be underrepresented and instead feminist Asia remains to be conceptualised through a Western-centric lens.

Gender Ideology and Non-Party School: Theoretical Analysis of Draft Laws in a Municipality in the Metropolitan Region of Rio Grande Do Sul

Glauce Stumpf, Unilasalle, Brazil

Gender equity has been a constant goal in international agreements, where it is observed that the vast majority of women and girls have been most affected in relation to the harmful impacts of poor educational training and job insertion. The importance of the theme has driven research in Brazil and also the insertion of public policies that support women and girls. Now, if we find so much resistance in the dissemination of science at higher education levels, in both undergraduate and graduate courses, imagine the contradictions existing in Basic Education and in the school community as a whole. When observing the little dissemination of gender studies in formal teaching spaces, we reflect on the political spaces and their propositions that directly affect the freedom of action of the teacher based on negative and stereotyped representations about gender and sexuality. In this way, we carried out qualitative research of a theoretical nature with a documental analysis on two propositions of bills of a municipality in the metropolitan region of Rio Grande do Sul. To this end, we initially reflected on the concept of gender, on national education legislation and carried out a documentary analysis of two propositions of municipal laws of 2017 and 2018. As a result of the research, we identified how much the body has been denied not only in schools, but in all contemporary society, which indicates the urgency that the concept of gender and sexuality leaves the walls of universities.

Rethinking reflexivity: The limits of transparency in hostile worlds

Otso Harju, University of Helsinki

Feminist scholarship has long been an proponent of increasing reflexivity as a tool for questioning and even combating inequalities seen as inherent in both academic research and university labor. Autoethnography has also been conceptualized as a tool for giving space to previously sidelined voices. Within contemporary fields of feminist minority scholarship (e.g. transgender studies or Dalit feminist studies), this can take the shape of a demand put on the scholar to position (or 'prove') oneself as an epistemic insider (or insider-enough); doing so is crucial for the perceived credibility of one's work, 'scientifically' and politically. This paper, while largely sympathetic towards ideals of strong reflexivity, discusses the limitations and potential dangers of an approach demanding transparency from the individual researcher. The article notes important questions regarding the epistemological sustainability of hyperreflexivity but focuses particularly on the realpolitikal difficulties of performing transparency. These are here divided into issues concerning academic institutions and those relating to broader society. Firstly, the text argues that the university world – as a system that enforces scarcity, conformity, and an individualized ownership of ideas – is largely antithetical to ideals of reflexivity, which threaten to show the academic labor process as uncertain, co-constructive, messy and 'unacademic'. Any actually transparent scholar will, the text argues,

quickly become an unemployed one. Secondly, the article sees the demand for a(semi-)public self-positioning as even more problematic because it assumes that the researcher is somehow fundamentally safe to do so. This seems to presume either that the minority scholar exists within an imaginary, 'liberal'(-enough) social environment not corresponding to most (if any) real-life contexts globally. Alternatively (and morbidly), it assumes that the already marginalized feminist researcher should, in a somewhat Christ-like move, be ready to bear all and any potential consequences of visibility, ultimately to the point of death. Finally, the article takes up the discussion around the (im)possibility of voicing a critique "whereof one cannot speak", as well ideas of clandestine solidarity in academia.

The Lack of Engagement with Gender Studies of the Middle East in Current Global Politics

Shirin Saeidi, Univ of Arkansas Nermin Allam, Rutgers University (virtual)

In this paper, we show the challenges that feminist scholars face in writing the experiences of Middle Eastern women into the study of international politics and political science. Gender and politics of the Middle East continues to be studied in isolation from broader interdisciplinary discussions of how women and their activism informs politics on different scales. Both authors of this abstract have recently published books dealing with the themes of revolution, war, and women's role in forging change in Egypt and Iran. In discussions of our work on women's activism in the Middle East, we notice that it is the geographical aspect of the studies that takes center stage, despite our detailed engagement with political theory, an ethnographic view of the political strategies of the oppressed, and an overall commitment to methodological diversity, comparative politics, and interdisciplinarity. The paper challenges the tendency to skew and limit analysis of women's activism and its consequences to the delights and divine possibilities of "gender reforms" in the Middle East region. Through surveying women's activism in Egypt and Iran, we show that women's resistance against spatialized and gendered power relations reveals how fragile the modern nation-state structure is in political science and challenges the focus on political institutions in studies of social movements and their consequences. The study of women's activism in Middle East thus informs not just the study of gender politics in the Middle East, but it also refashions our study of political science more broadly.

Panel 6-3. Militarism, Violence and Engendering Security

Ethics, methods, and logistics: the peculiarities of conducting research in military contexts

Bethan Greener, Massey University

Conducting research on military issues can be a fraught affair. In this paper we discuss our past and ongoing experiences of researching with military institutions and personnel to contribute to discussions about the recurring ethical, methodological, and logistical dilemmas met in undertaking this kind of work. Currently engaged in a major team project investigating gender issues and the potential (and limitations) for 'regendering' military forces, we reflect on the key obstacles, concerns, and unexpected happenings that have emerged in this and other relevant projects.

Even Good Soldiers Rape: Myths and Uncomfortable Truths About Military Sexual Violence

Megan Mackenzie, Simon Fraser University

This presentation will feature findings from a recently completed book analyzing nearly 30 years of media coverage of military sexual violence. The presentation will include findings about key narratives, myths, and rhetorical tools found in media coverage in three case countries- Canada, Australia and the US. Drawing on the concept of institutional gaslighting and developing the concept of military exceptionalism, this work makes the case that understanding how we make sense of military sexual violence is key to broader efforts to address and dismantle rape culture.

The gendered violence in the "War on Drugs" in South America: a proposal for theoretical-conceptual analysis

Helena Salim de Castro, Interinstitutional Graduate Program in International Relations "San Tiago Dantas" (UNESP, UNICAMP, PUC-SP)

Generally, the analysis of the "war on drugs" policy focuses on aspects such as cooperation between state security forces, combating drug trafficking groups, mass incarceration, etc. Discussions about gender violence are marginalized or this type of violence is interpreted as an inevitable consequence

of conflicts. The aim of this paper is to propose another way of analyzing the violence against women's bodies perpetrated during the war on drugs in South America. To illustrate, it analyzes the cases of violence in southern Colombia between the late 1990s and the early 2000s. It argues that the practices of violation against women's bodies and subjectivities are instrumental in conducting the "war on drugs" and essential for the maintenance of the global governance. It intends to debate concepts and theoretical perspectives that allow to analyze how "gendered violence" against women's bodies relates to local and transnational political-economic dynamics, which, in turn, are also demarcated by gender elements and performances. Two main theoretical and conceptual approaches guide the analysis. On the one hand, the authors from a Marxist perspective contribute to the understanding of the relationship between security policies and the international political economy. On the other hand, De(s)colonial Feminism theorists bring concepts that shed light on the meanings of violence against women's bodies and how these practices are justified in a context marked by power relations based on colonial, racial, and gender hierarchies. The paper concludes that the gendered violence against women's bodies is part of a project of neoliberal, colonial, and patriarchal governance.

Panel 7-1: Thinking through Gaps: Intersectional Feminisms for Multiracial Solidarity

Centering Dalit-Black Feminist Solidarities

Meghana Nayak, Pace University

As a dominant caste feminist academic based in the global north, I have been trying to figure out potential interventions regarding casteism in both academia and transnational/postcolonial (TNPC) feminist scholarship, which to date has not examined caste as comprehensively as it does race, sexuality, and other constructs. Casteism is a particular kind of oppression that has been able to thrive undetected precisely because of the subjugation of South Asian caste-oppressed knowledges by dominant caste scholars globally. If we center Asia(s) and prioritize inter-Asian exchanges in feminist academic spaces, as planned for this conference, could we engage in radical caste exposure? Could we talk openly about how western hegemonies have given dominant caste academics the perfect cover to deflect from a focus on caste? Could we name and politicize caste structures and privileges throughout Asian diasporas? Could we have a reckoning with postcolonial feminist scholarship that has generally failed to interrogate how postcoloniality further entrenches caste? The way I will tackle these questions in this paper is propose a transnational feminist anti-caste positionality modeled upon solidarity work between caste-oppressed (Dalit, Bahujan, Adivasi)

feminists and Black and Afro-descendant feminists in both the U.S. and India. I will explore how centering Asia(s) in conversations around caste requires learning from coalitional work emerging in the U.S. and India thanks to the leadership of Afro-descendant feminists in cultivating those relationships with Dalit leaders. In other words, sometimes centering Asia will entail centering marginalized voices in the global north.

The Love that dare not speak its name: Exploring the quest for Feminine centric Identity in "The Vegetarian"

Nandini Gupta, Trinity College Dublin Malika Singh, Delhi University (virtual)

This paper will explore the creation of female-centric identity through the character of Yeong Hye in Han Kang's "very extreme and bizarre" novel "The Vegetarian". The paper will trace how Kang attempts to de-construct patriarchal discourses of the South Korean society on the levels of body, language and sexuality. By looking at these three levels, the paper will attempt to understand an alternative discourse laboured by Kang in the wake of indigenous feminist consciousness. The novel shows a strong potential for the feminist practices to stop battling against phallocentric logic but to develop an alternative framework for distancing the "female self" from the historical narratives of conformation. The paper, therefore, captures this novelty shown by Kang in the South Korean milieu by studying it from the post-structural feminist lens of thinkers like Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler, Gayatri Spivak and Julia Kristeva. The overall thematic objective of the paper is to encourage the study of "non-appropriative" structures being exemplified in "The Vegetarian" which could foster feminist solidarity. This innovative visualisation of women's solidarity by Kang offers feminist theorists around the globe an alternative way to not flight but transform the insidious grids of physical and psychological violence into a space of radical evolution.

In-between: Consequences of Sexual and Racial Stereotypes on Yellow Female Bodies in the United States

Caroline Hirano, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo

The research aims to answer the following question: what are the contemporary consequences of immigration and miscegenation policies in the constitution of the identity and the violence of yellow female bodies in the United States? The main objective of this paper is the interpretation of racism patterns with a sexist bias against Asian women in the United States and how they constituted their (non) place in the country. The methodology was mainly a case study of the United States between 2000 and 2021, with focus in 2020 and 2021. It addresses the contemporary consequences of the country's history of racism and sexism against yellow female bodies as well as the height of the violence that occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. The choice of the geographic outline of the United States is justified by the aspect of the country's immigration regulatory framework between

the XVIII and the XX centuries, based by white supremacy and also by the violence against yellow female bodies and the construction of sexual stereotypes related to race. These aspects have historically affected these women and find resonance in contemporary violence. In sequence, it is used the analytical conceptual method in which the main theoretical basis is Gloria Anzaldúa (1983; 1987; 1990) and her concepts of identity in-between the borders and mestiza conscience. Through Anzaldúa, the research reflects on how the stereotypes of yellow women in the United States have consequences in shaping their contemporary self-identity and also the way they are perceived in the country through the violence they suffer.

Towards an Intersectional Foreign Policy for the United States: Rethinking involvement and assistance in light of global challenges, failures, and opportunities (Policy Brief)

Pía Madanes Quintanilla, New York University

This policy brief proposes the adoption of an Intersectional Foreign Policy (IFP) by the United States government as a matter of strategic and moral importance, taking existing Feminist Foreign approaches one step further. I define IFP as "an approach designed to strategically guide States in their policy-making and interactions with other State and non-State actors; centering decisions, activities, and attitudes on understanding, de-constructing, and including individuals and groups experiencing multiple layers of exclusion and discrimination. It is a coherent framework anchored on disrupting existing patterns of power". To implement an Intersectional Foreign Policy, focused on development policy I propose three key recommendations, including the need to 1) tackle inequalities at home, 2) represent diverse voices abroad, and 3) measure intersectionality to inform decision-making.

Pia Madanes Quintanilla is an M. S. in Global Affairs candidate at New York University (NYU), specializing in peacebuilding and gender studies, and a Graduate Consultant for EcoPeace Middle East. Prior to studying at NYU, Pia worked for the United Nations, the City Legislature of Buenos Aires, nonprofit organizations, and think tanks.

Panel 7-2. Feminist Pedagogical Interventions in Global Nuclear Politics (Roundtable)

Moderator: Anne Sisson Runyan, University of Cincinnati

Participants:

Catherine Eschle, University of Strathclyde
Shampa Biswas, Whitman College
Anne Harrington, Cardiff University
Rebecca Hogue, Harvard University
Ray Acheson, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

This roundtable brings together some members of an international and interdisciplinary feminist collective of scholars and activists, who engaged in a series of virtual workshops over the past two years to investigate feminist interventions into nuclear politics, to discuss the pedagogical implications of their work. The collective formed in response to the minimal attention to nuclear politics in feminist peace and security studies scholarship since the Cold War and Carol Cohn's germinal 1988 article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." Drawing upon past and present struggles against the gendered and racialized nuclear order and its nuclear imperialisms and colonialisms from the Asia-South Pacific region to the Americas, Europe, and the Middle East, participants engaged existing and developed new literature to challenge the nuclear status quo. Given re-ignited concerns over the threat of nuclear war in recent years lately precipitated by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the slower and ongoing death that the atomic age has brought to especially indigenous communities around the world through nuclear testing, production, waste, and accidents, and the potentialities of the now in force Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, it is an important time to consider how we can bring feminist analyses of and resistances to global nuclear politics into the classroom. This roundtable will focus on and extend a conversation we have already begun on pedagogical resources, approaches, and practices for (re)engaging students (in multiple locations and contexts) in feminist critiques of and feminist knowledge production on nuclear politics.

Panel 7-3. LGBTIQ+ Politics in Times of Crises: Transnational Perspectives – Session 1

Moderator: Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati

LGBTIQ+ Politics in the Era of Crises: The New Normal?

Manuela Picq, Universidad San Francisco de Quito (USFQ), Ecuador/Amherst College and Markus Thiel, Florida International University

While the discipline of IR has expanded its inquiry of LGBT+ politics, acknowledging the tensions surrounding international human rights promotion, it is still missing an analysis of LGBT+ issues in the globalized 'risk society' in which crises are not exceptional but normalized and performatively manipulated. The various risks, threats and crises are embedded in a globally networked, accelerated interdependence characterized by "'liquid modernity', i.e. the growing conviction that change is the only permanence, and uncertainty the only certainty" (Bauman 2007: 82). This paper fills this knowledge gap by offering a theoretical framework to understand the political risks and threats as well as the activist and governance responses to emerging and increasingly normalized crises. Questions to be investigated are how the new 'normal' of global (political, economic, environmental, health) crisis in past years has impacted LGBT+ politics? Hence it analyzes the way in which international crises impact LGBT+ politics to discern the extent to which they might be domestically produced and performed, in addition to being externally or transnationally caused. Secondly, how have LGBT+ advocacy/politics responded to such crises? Here, we investigate the extent to which activists, as well as governments and international organizations, have reacted in a productive manner to crises.

The International Politics of Development for LGBT Inclusion: How UK National Policy Used Crisis as a Political Opportunity

Matthew Waites, University of Glasgow

This paper analyses transnational queer politics in the time of COVID-19 by examining the case of United Kingdom (UK) development aid addressing lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) inclusion. The UK government's first, flagship development aid project supporting LGBT people was Strong in Diversity Bold on Inclusion (SIDBOI) from 2019, to work in five African cities, with a £12 million budget. Partner organisations included HIVOS, Coalition of African Lesbians, AMSHER, Kaleidoscope Trust, Article 19, Synergia, Workplace Pride, University of London, University of Glasgow and University of Pretoria. Drawing on the author's experience of participation in the project, the paper analyses changing UK government policy in relation to the project as a case study. In the context of COVID-19 and Brexit, the 'co-creation' phase was extended to June 2020, ending without funding for phase 2—as changing UK policy merged DFID into the renamed Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office. This withdrawal poses stark questions about government commitment to funding for LGBT projects. Suggesting a gap between critical perspectives on homonationalism (Puar) and homocapitalism (Rao), and the fragile existence of transnational aid for LGBT projects, the paper analyses both the emergence of transnational aid funding of LGBT issues and its apparent demise.

Working through queer postcolonialisms towards the decolonial material of LGBTIQ equality: the example of Bangladesh

Adnan Hossain, Utrecht University and Momin Rahman, Trent University

In this paper, we suggest that we need to think beyond the postcolonial critiques of international LGBTIQ rights, using the queer movement in Bangladesh as our example. In this case, the praxis of anti-oppression requires the development of solidarities with heteronormative Muslim and nationalist communities, who overwhelmingly deny local queer traditions. On the other side, the queer movement relies upon solidarities with non-Muslim, non-national LGBTIQ politics, which are overwhelmingly framed and supported by western governments, both in country and internationally. Thus, while the postcolonial critique of LGBTIQ rights promotion remains accurate – in that it prioritizes western versions of SOGIE and politics in a homocolonialist dynamic – we must also attend to the other dimension of homocolonialism. Non-western governments and populations share in the logic of homocolonialism by ceding LGBTIQ to western civilization and thus denying the existence of their own cultural sexual diversities in order to justify resisting LGBTIQ rights as a demonstration of their postcolonial cultural autonomy. Constructing a politics that can navigate these two dimensions of homocolonialism requires something more than a postcolonial agenda focused on the west and its embedded hierarchies of racialization and Islamophobia. We also need to attend to the development of institutions and resources for both local queer communities and related homophobic communities outside of the west if we are to pursue queer equality in different cultures. We explore whether the framing of 'decolonial' is useful here, as the consequence of working through the (necessary) postcolonial critique towards a praxis that remains attentive to homocolonialism but focuses on practical opportunities. We provide a brief sketch of what dimensions a decolonial strategy for capacity building looks like in the case of Bangladesh, and what it implies for our western-centric frameworks of postcolonial analysis.

Discussant: Manuela Picq (as co-editor of special journal issue that will include all papers on these two sessions)

II. HYBRID PANELS

DAY 2

Panel 1-1. Resisting Discipline: Critical Indigenous Theories and Methodologies (Oceania Hub Plenary Roundtable)

Convened by Sara E. Davies, Griffith University

Participants:

Bronwyn Carlson (Chair), Department of Indigenous Studies, Macquarie University.

Julie Ballangary, Gumbaynggirr/Dunghutti women and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University

Madi Day, Aboriginal transgender academic born and raised on Dharug Country Madeleine Pugin, Kombumerri woman of the Gold Coast and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University

Social science disciplines can be sites of resistance that expose inequity and injustice. They are also sites of power and domination that oppress challenges to their authority and knowledge. Studies of race, settler colonialism, and Indigeneity and Indigenous sovereignty are not sufficiently supported or recognised in disciplines in Australian University institutions, or elsewhere. Debbie Bargallie and Alana Lentin recently asked how can the critical race toolbox be used in theoretical synergy with critical Indigenous studies and other perspectives such as race critical and decolonial theory for making sense of how race is produced, reproduced and maintained in settler colonial states and, by extension, social science disciplines? This panel's speakers reflect on this question from their own lived experience as scholars who are connecting race, Indigeneity, and Indigenous sovereignty to their disciplinary research.

Cite: Debbie Bargallie and Alana Lentin. 2021. Beyond convergence and divergence: Towards a 'both and' approach to critical race and critical Indigenous studies in Australia, Current Sociology, https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211024701

Chair: Bronwyn Carlson is Professor of Indigenous Studies, Department of Indigenous Studies, Macquarie University. Bronwyn is an Aboriginal woman who was born on and lives on D'harawal Country in NSW Australia. Bronwyn was awarded an Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Indigenous grant in 2013 for research on Aboriginal identity and community online, and a second ARC in 2016 for research on Indigenous help-seeking on social media. In 2019 she was awarded a third consecutive ARC grant, specifically focusing on Indigenous experiences of online violence. Bronwyn is the author of The Politics of Identity: Who Counts as Aboriginal Today? (Aboriginal Studies Press, 2016). She is widely published on the topic of Indigenous cultural, social, intimate and political engagements on social media including coediting and contributing to two special issues; the Australasian Journal of Information Systems (2017) on "Indigenous Activism on Social Media" and Media International Australia (2018) on "Indigenous Innovation on Social Media" and an edited volume with Rutgers University Press (2021) "Indigenous People Rise Up: The Global Ascendancy of Social Media Activism". She is also the founding and managing editor of the Journal of Global Indigeneity and the Director of The Centre for Global Indigenous Futures.

Discussants:

Julie Ballangary is a proud Gumbaynggirr/Dunghutti women and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University. Prior to commencing her PhD Julie completed a Bachelor of Education with Honours (Class 1) and spent several years working in Remote and Low SES community schools. Julie is passionate about Indigenous issues especially in regards to education and public policy. Her current research seeks to explore why Indigenous education policies are continually failing by investigating the current approaches to policy-making in this arena. Her research interests include: Public policy; Indigenous education; Indigenous affairs and policies and Black politics.

Madi Day is an Aboriginal transgender academic born and raised on Dharug Country. They are completing a PhD by publication on heterosexuality and white settlers; specifically the function of heterosexualism and white settler violence in settler colonialism in so-called Australia. Madi is a beneficiary of legacies of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activism scholarship and has had the privilege of training in anticolonial, anti-racist and Indigenous research practices under renowned Indigenous intellectuals including Professor Bronwyn Carlson and Professor Sandy O'Sullivan. They worked with Andy Farrell to develop the first Indigenous Queer Studies major in so-called Australia.

Madeleine Pugin is a Kombumerri woman of the Gold Coast and a PhD student at the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University. Her research is focusing on the UNDRIP, specifically cultural rights, and the struggle of identity and recognition of her people as the Traditional Custodians of their Country. As a high school English Teacher, she is interested in Indigenous education as well as Aboriginal history and Indigenous politics.

Panel 1-2. Book Launch: Elora Shehabuddin, Sister in the Mirror in conversation with Shirin Saeidi, Women and the Islamic Republic

Moderator: Sara Shroff, LUMS

Participants:

Elora Shehabuddin, University of California, Berkeley Shirin Saeidi, University of Arkansas

Respondents:

Farrah Sheikh, Keimyung University Raihan Ishmail, ANU, TBC Elora Chowdhury, UMass Boston, TBC

This panel is a book launch conversation with the authors, Elora Shehabuddin of Sister in the Mirror: A History of Muslim Women and the Global Politics of Feminism (2021, California University Press) and Shirin Saeidi of Women and the Islamic Republic: How Gendered Citizenship Conditions the Iranian State (2022, Cambridge University Press). The authors will respond to the chapters that they shared with each from their respective book. Brief book abstracts:

Sister in the Mirror: A History of Muslim Women by Elora Shehabuddin

Western feminists, pundits, and policymakers tend to portray the Muslim world as the last and most difficult frontier of global feminism. Challenging this view, Elora Shehabuddin presents a unique and engaging history of feminism as a story of colonial and postcolonial interactions between Western and Muslim societies. Muslim women, like other women around the world, have been engaged in

their own struggles for generations: as individuals and in groups that include but also extend beyond their religious identity and religious practices. The modern and globally enmeshed Muslim world they navigate has often been at the weaker end of disparities of wealth and power, of processes of colonization and policies of war, economic sanctions, and Western feminist outreach. Importantly, Muslims have long constructed their own ideas about women's and men's lives in the West, with implications for how they articulate their feminist dreams for their own societies. Stretching from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment era to the War on Terror present, *Sisters in the Mirror* shows how changes in women's lives and feminist strategies have consistently reflected wider changes in national and global politics and economics.

Women and the Islamic Republic: How Gendered Citizenship Conditions the Iranian State by Shirin Saeidi

Based on extensive interviews and oral histories as well as archival sources, *Women and the Islamic Republic* challenges the dominant masculine theorizations of state-making in post-revolutionary Iran. Shirin Saeidi demonstrates that despite the Islamic Republic's non-democratic structures, multiple forms of citizenship have developed in post-revolutionary Iran. This finding destabilizes the binary formulation of democratization and authoritarianism which has not only dominated investigations of Iran, but also regime categorizations in political science more broadly. As non-elite Iranian women negotiate or engage with the state's gendered citizenry regime, the Islamic Republic is forced to remake, oftentimes haphazardly, its citizenry agenda. The book demonstrates how women remake their rights, responsibilities, and statuses during everyday life to condition the state-making process in Iran, showing women's everyday resistance to the state-making process.

Panel 1-6. Highlight Roundtable: Feminist Responses to a New Age of Geopolitics

Sponsored by Taft Research Center, University of Cincinnati

Convened and Moderated by: Elisabeth Prügl

Speakers and Themes:

Margo Okazawa-Rey, USF, on transnational feminism & anti-militarism Jungmin Seo and Seoyoung Choi, on geopolitics of the Korean peninsula Sara Davies, Griffith, on WPS and conflict prevention

Li Yingtao, Beijing Foreign Studies University, on feminist diplomacy and Chinese foreign policy Qais Munhazim, Thomas Jefferson University, on sexuality and geopolitics, connecting Ukraine and Afghanistan

Shweta Singh, South Asian University, on nationalism and geopolitics.

The war in Ukraine has brought back to the fore geopolitical thinking. Where post-World War II liberal internationalism seemed to have forged an understanding of a world as inextricably interdependent, there is today talk about de-globalization, and narrowly nationalist understandings of interest again animate international power politics. This shift in politics is particularly worrisome as climate change and pandemics more than ever necessitate international cooperation. Rather than a site of hope for solutions, however flawed, international politics now appears set to accelerate the path of destruction that humanity has crafted for itself.

The end of the Cold War brought feminist ideas into international policy debates – including Security Council Resolution 1325 and more recently the development of 'feminist foreign policies'. The inclusion of women into international politics, calling out the gendered harms perpetrated, and dismantling intersectionally gendered power arrangements was supposed to help prevent war and solve a range of international policy problems. How do we think about this agenda in the aftermath of the Ukraine invasion and in light of emerging new ideological confrontations? What positions should feminists take in the face of war and aggression? Is feminist foreign policy up to the task of managing the world (and should it want to)? What feminist visions can guide our politics in times of division and crisis? What should transnational feminist activism look like today?

This roundtable brings together scholars who have long engaged with topics of conflict, militarism and masculine power in world politics from a feminist perspective.

Panel 2-1. Today's Peace and Security Questions

The role of Palestinian women in the culture of peace and the effects on girls' education during COVID-19

Mariana Beselga, University of Coimbra/Université de Genève Fernanda Caroline Alves Bezerra de Me, Federal University of Pernambuco (virtual)

The Arab-Israeli war has persisted for decades, being also framed as one of the greatest neo-colonial legacies in the history of contemporary international conflicts. Although the Oslo Peace Process was an important step towards structuring non-violent relations in the region, it failed not only because of a lack of Israeli compliance, but because the rights of children and women were not put at the center of peace negotiations. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the fractures linked to the abyssal, North-South, and universal rights of Palestinian social minorities, which are rendered invisible in the de jure sovereignty dynamics surrounding the conflict. In view of the above, we seek to encompass the role of the human right to education of women and girls in order to build a positive peace in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Following up, we also seek to discuss the erosion of these universal rights in the context of the health crisis caused by the Coronavirus, involving regional dynamics of power and humanitarian aid. In this context, the present work uses as a theoretical and epistemological basis the post-colonial contributions on the thresholds of human security, which lead a conflict resolution from the civil society historically oppressed by the forms of structural violence perpetuated by the International System. The methodological construction of the study is based on qualitative-explanatory research through a bibliographic review and document analysis.

Can refusal be a new strategy for feminist peace and security?

Ji Min Nam, University of Oslo (in person)

Feminist Peace Research (FPR) has expanded, complicated, and questioned the previous assumptions of how scholars have defined peace. FPR also attempts to incorporate various local perspectives to complicate and expand the horizon of the context of peace. On that note, I attempt to introduce and explore a potentially new strategy for feminist peace and security which is 'refusal'. From Escape the Corset movement to Bihon movement, I observe that South Korean women's social movements are orbiting around the concept of 'refusal'. They refuse to conform to the fixed and forced notion of femininity; they refuse to participate into heterosexual practices. I have noticed that the motive(s) of such refusal comes from their yearning for peace: refusing the practices of femininity was intended to give them peace and security by being less exposed to sexual discrimination, sexual harassment, and sexual violence which they seemed to succeed. Participants of Bihon movements were motivated to refuse the practices of heterosexuality to be free from the economic/social/political exploitation from South Korean men through the form of marriage. People

seem to often frame the movements as aggression and fixate on that note; however this paper will offer a new lens to some young feminist movements in South Korea with the perspective of feminist peace and security approach and with the concept of 'refusal' in South Korean context. Observing two movement keenly for years, I try to ask and explore, 'can refusal be a new strategy for feminist peace and security?' If refusal is the potential strategy for feminist peace and security, in what sense it is successful and meaningful? If there are, what are the limits of the 'refusal' strategy and what would be the solutions for the sustainability?

Multiplicity of Women's Experiences Under the Khmer Rouge

Azra Rashid, University of Sydney (in person)

The existing discourses of genocide tell the story from a patriarchal and national perspective, rendering a woman speechless. Women survivors of the Cambodian genocide testify to the specific atrocities committed during the war but also to the pre-war conditions that laid the groundwork for a gender-specific victimization of women and its continuation post-war. Women's memories function in a way similar to Meaghan Morris' articulation of anecdotes: "They are oriented futuristically towards the construction of a precise, local, and social discursive context, of which the anecdote then functions as a mise en abyme. That is to say, anecdotes are not expressions of personal experience but allegorical expositions of a model of the way the world can be said to be working." In this paper, I emphasize situated knowledge and speaking positions, and explore the multiplicity of women's experiences under the Khmer Rouge – women who experienced rape, forced marriage, forced labour, or joined the Khmer regime as torturers and soldiers – in an attempt to disrupt the dominant discourses of genocide that tend to universalize gendered crimes of genocide.

Race and Gender in Narratives of Incel Violence

Luise Bendfeldt, Uppsala University (in person)

Buoyed by a global online community characterised by misogyny, several incidents of public mass violence, predominantly in the US, have been perpetrated by individuals identifying as involuntary celibate (incels) since 2014. In an effort to comprehend this violence, much attention has been directed at the perpetrators, their motives and the wider incel community. Additionally, incel violence has been assessed in relation to its links with other right-wing extremism, as specific to the college campus context or as situated in the context of structural misogyny. While little attention has been paid to how incel violence is framed in wider society, previous studies on media portrayals show that – in line with prior research on white perpetrators of mass violence – portrayals of incel violence centre around the apparent youth of the perpetrator, manifested in turn into an

individualisation and depoliticisation of incel violence. This paper seeks to further probe into the framing of incel violence by a comparing newspaper portrayals of incidents of incel, right-wing and Islamist violence – illuminating how racialised understandings of violence interplay with assumptions about gendered violence.

Luise Bendfeldt is a PhD Candidate at the Department of Government at Uppsala University. Her research interests include gender, terrorism, critical security studies, feminist theory and international relations. She currently focuses on the issues of male supremacy, misogyny and gendered violence and is passionate about teaching.

Panel 2-2. Conceptualizing Gender and its (In)Justices

Climate (In)justice, Asia, and Gender-based Violence

Karen Thornber, Harvard University (in person)

This talk builds on my book project Gender Justice and Contemporary Asian Literatures, a volume that contributes to decentering the "West" and Euro-American literatures in discussions of gender and in particular gender-based violence. The book – written to be accessible to a broad audience – speaks to how the literatures of Asia and its diasporas can broaden and reframe understandings of different forms of gender-based violence, and of Asia itself. In writing Gender Justice, I became increasingly interested in the gendered impacts of climate change (better referred to as climate disruption), including gender as a "critical factor in vulnerability to climate events" (Alston, Research, Action, and Policy) and in learning more about intersections among gender, inequality, and climate (in)justice within Asia as well as in Asian diasporas globally. Writing Gender Justice during the pandemic, as incidents of gender-based violence – especially domestic/intimate partner violence as well as family violence – were notably rising, felt as though we were living through a harbinger of an even more desolate future. If this is what we're seeing during the pandemic, how much worse will gender-based violence become as climate disruption intensifies? I'd like then in this presentation to speak about connections between climate (in)justice and gender-based violence more generally, as these are manifested in Asia and different parts of the world, and as they intersect with inequality and especially poverty. I'll then include two case studies from speculative fiction, thinking about how these discourses both solidify and challenge conventional discourses and practices of gendered violence.

Reading The Bacchus Lady (2016) with Biopolitics and Ethics of Care

Unyoung Park, Seoul National University of Science and Technology (in person)

E J-yong's 2016 movie The Bacchus Lady is about an elderly prostitute Youn So-young starred by Youn Yuh-jung. It deals with elderly poverty in South Korea where the highest elderly poverty rate is recorded among Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member nations in the 21st century. However, even elderly issues do not equally affect gender in the film, and Soyoung, who 'cares for' her multiracial neighbors and customers, is forced to 'care about' the elderly men wanting to die. Furthermore, So-young's caring life is deeply interwoven with Korean history. This essay analyzes The Bacchus Lady in the context of biopolitics and ethics of care focused on the relation between gender and nation. Biopolitics is introduced by Michel Foucault as a method of exerting power by a modern nation over its citizens "to ensure, sustain, and multiply life, to put this life in order." Thus, citizens are under biopolitical control by the nation during wartime and peacetime alike. The ethics of care is originated from Carol Gilligan and explains that caring is assigned to women and consequently devalued in society. Joan Tronto distinguishes further between 'care for' and 'care about.' The former is a caring activity related to the private area whereas the latter is to the public sector. By analyzing The Bacchus Lady in the context of biopolitics and ethics of care, this essay aims to explore the relationship between the postcolonial power structure and gender/racialization in the inter-Asian setting.

The Voices of Taiwan Indigenous Queer Subject: From Absence to Self-representation

Ting-Sian Liu, SOAS, University of London (in person)

Taiwan marks as the beacon of LGBT rights in Asia. However, the voices of Taiwan indigenous queer people have long been marginalized in the movements and academia. In this research, I would bridge the gender and sexuality studies in Taiwan with the discussions of race and ethnicity. I propose to understand the marginalization of indigenous queer through the lens of intersectionality. In the following essay, I look into the absence of indigenous queer people in the movements. I analyse the positionality of Chi Chia-Wei, the heroic figure in the LGBT movements, to argue that his racial and ethnic privilege reflects the Han-dominated narrative in the Tongzhi movement. I contend that it is because of the intersectionality of race and gender, resulting in the double margins of indigenous queer people. Then, I look into indigenous queer's absence in academia through analysing the data of master theses completed in Taiwan. I argue the invisibility of indigenous queer people in Tongzhi literatures, which means gay and lesbian studies, also represents the Han supremacy in gender and sexuality studies. Lastly, I discuss in the era of social media, how

indigenous queer people start to voice themselves as Adju. Adju means sisters in Paiwan language, and it becomes how some indigenous queer activists identify themselves. I analyse how they articulate their intersectional identity through the musical works of an indigenous queer artist. I argue that since Adju represents the intersectionality of race, gender, and religion, it challenges the limitations of the current LGBT identity politics.

"There is no translation for violence amongst the Guarani Kaiowá": definitions of violence from indigenous women in Brazil

Jaqueline Porto, Brazil, UFGD (virtual)
Rosycleide Vilhalva, Brazil, UFGD (virtual)
Karina Pinhão and Katiuscia Galhera, University of Coimbra, Portugal (virtual)

The ideology of Eurocentrism, colonialism and imperialism permeate our daily lives at Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil: this is the state with highest rates of feminicide and rape of vulnerables (FBSP 2021) and one of the most violent states against indigenous people (Cimi 2021). It's worth mentioning that violence has no translation in our original Guarani language, but the notion of reko vaí (to live/behave in a bad/negative way). Nevertheless, let's take a step back: What's gender-based violence against indigenous women (Guarani Kaiowá) in the central-west contemporary Brazilian nation-state? This paper aims to understand violence from the Guarani Kaiowá women point of view. According to our hypothesis, for Guarani Kaiowá women violence goes beyond purely State-based or essentialist feminist definitions. The concept of enclosure (Federici 2017) advances the explanation of colonialism/capitalism in parallel to the alienation of our traditional livelihoods. Yet, the notion of body-territory (Cabnal 2014) is useful, as well being is impossible if we are forced to live without our ancestral lands. Finally, the idea of biopower (Foucault 2008a; 2008b) and necropolitics (Mbembe 2018) helps us to understand the State role in protecting Whites while killing indigenous women: in our words, "the law is dehumanizing". Our methodology is based on oral memory from different women in different territories, from 2017 to 2021. Partial findings are based on the Map of Violence we built at the Assembly of Guarani and Kaiowá women (Kuñangue Aty Guasu), confirm our original hypothesis and will be deepened through the paper.

Panel 2-3. Digital Feminism: Rethinking Violence, Activism and the Public

Public/Private/Digital: Acknowledging the complexity and harm of digital violence against women and gender and sexual minorities

Elina Penttinen, University of Helsinki (in-person) Louna Hakkarainen, Naisten Linja Suomessa Ry (in-person) Naisten Linja Suomessa Ry

Whereas technologies enable and open new avenues for communication and bring ease in everyday lives, these same technologies can be used malignantly to control, stalk, harass, and limit the lives of others. Digital violence has become global human rights issue as technologies are used as a means for extensions of coercive control and stalking in the context of intimate relationships as well as post-separation, online harassment and cyber-bullying of politically active women as well as gender and sexual minorities. This paper argues that digital violence challenges the understanding of violence through public-private distinction and resists simplified categorizations such as physical, sexualized and psychological violence. Indeed, digital violence can be seen introducing a new level and sphere of violence as technologies enable abuse both indirect and direct, physical, sexualized and psychological abuses that defy time and space. This paper contends that feminist research on violence, as well as anti-violence activism, needs to come up to speed with how technologies are used for the purpose of violence and how these are implemented in everyday lives. This paper draws examples of digital violence from a surveys done in Finland as well as in Asian countries in order to build comprehensive understanding on the issue. It calls for raising awareness of the very real harm that digital violence has on the targets as well as building systematic solutions to this widespread issue on political level.

Discursive Contestations on Feminism as an Electoral Strategy and Feminist Resistances: Case Study of Brazailian and South Korean Presidential Elections

Hoimi Mukherjee, Jawaharlal Nehru University (in person)

The victory of Yoon Suk-yeol in the 2022 Presidential election of the Republic of Korea showcased the electoral strategy of othering feminists and misconstruing feminism to polarise and mobilise voters. This strategy had paid a dividend in the case of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro's election campaign in 2018, where the war on feminism took the form of "culture wars" to tackle crises. The purpose of the paper is to understand the identity articulations in the contesting discourses around feminism in the current context in these two nations.

This paper will undertake a comparative study of the political discourses of these elections and examine the modes of dissemination by active online forums. Sustained misconstruing of feminism through online forums provides support in conditioning for right-wing populism which is in turn, mainstreamed through validation in election platforms. To understand how online groups act as ideological extensions of the regime, the application of network analysis and critical discourse analysis on social media profiles shall be undertaken to clarify the meanings attached to feminism. Finally, this paper would survey feminist resistance organised online, in "counterpublics" and on the ground.

Hoimi Mukherjee is a Doctoral Candidate, Jawaharlal Nehru University

How Could the "#MeToo" Movement Spread Worldwide In 2017? Supplemental Analysis on the Conditions under Which Transnational Advocacy Networks Become Influential

San Lee, University of Connecticut (virtual)

In 2017, thousands of tweets with the hashtag "#MeToo" occurred and later spread all over the world. However, this "MeToo" movement already had been initiated in 2007 to promote the sexual rights of young black girls. Despite the past similar event, why did the 2017 movement only lead to global resonance with transnational advocacy networks? Though the previous works of literature often explain the mechanism through which transnational advocacy network emerges and works by mainly focusing on the role of NGOs, these do not adequately address the examples of unorganized individuals acting online. Thus, to answer such research questions, I set up the hypothesis: the

interaction with past experiences disclosing gender-based violence led to the success of transnational advocacy networks in 2017. To test it, I conduct case studies and comparative analysis of South Korea and Japan and illustrate the cases of other countries. As a result, first, "#Sexual_Violence_In_Literary_Circles" movements in 2016 and Jang Ja-Yeon's case in South Korea and the social movements of Ito Shiori since 2015 in Japan had been re-spotlighted as one of the "#MeToo" movements. Not only this, victims and activists from those cases began to support the "#MeToo" movement by understanding their experiences in the 2017 context. Second, victims could continue their movements as advocacy networks by voluntarily contacting other similar cases and victims, empathizing with and encouraged by them. Consequently, this research would theoretically provide more specific timing and conditions for the emergence of transnational advocacy networks regarding women's rights and the feminist movement.

From "Empowerment through Empathy" to #MyLifeIsNotYourPorn: Digital Feminist Activism and the Manifestation of the #MeToo Movement in South Korea and Taiwan

Lisa Hou, SOAS University of London (in person)

The #MeToo movement has disrupted societies across the world. This dissertation aims to explain the reasons behind different developments of the #MeToo movement through a small-N comparative analysis with the research question: How has the #MeToo movement manifested itself in South Korea and Taiwan? The globalisation of the #MeToo movement revealed how widespread and common sexual violence against girls and women is, and has changed feminist movements through individualised publics and the formation of a "network of acknowledgement". #MeToo changed South Korea's society in that it opened up public debate about taboo topics and challenged perceptions of sexual violence and its victims, which led to a large-scale movement and numerous legal reforms on gendered violence and discrimination in a country that has been struggling with sexual harassment, hidden spy camera cases and femicides across all levels of society. The movement also produced local follow-up movements such as #WithYou. Taiwan, on the other hand, which is perceived to be one of the most progressive countries in Asia, had a virtually absent #MeToo movement, which raises the question as to why #MeToo has not disrupted the society as it did in South Korea. This paper found that factors such as a historically strong civil society, high levels of online activism and investigative journalism, easy access to information and resources, and strong legal mobilisation contributed to the #MeToo movement's large disruptions in South Korea, in stark contrast to Taiwan, where the reluctance to speak out against sexual violence remains a pervasive problem.

Panel 2-4. LGBTIQ+ Politics in Times of Crises: Transnational Perspectives – Session 2

Moderator: Manuela Picq, USFQ/Amherst College

On Continuity, Change, and Crises: The Transnational Political Economy of LGBTIQ+ Politics and Anti-Gender Campaigns in Latin America

Amy Lind, University of Cincinnati

In this paper I address how we can account for advances and forms of "backlash" against LGBTQ+ politics in a context of "liquid modernity" (Bauman, cited in Thiel and Picq 2022) – a context of constant crises – in Latin America, a region viewed in the past decade as "progressive" with regard to legal and policy change. Specifically, I analyze the political economy of contemporary queerphobic panics (Rao 2020) as a set of anti-queer, anti-gender organizing strategies that draw upon and circulate through geopolitical, moral, religious, cultural, and linguistic economies. It is this set of economies that I wish to analyze in this paper, particularly as they raise questions about the perceived crisis of the traditional family, and by extension, the modern nation. I argue that rather than being an exception, LGBTQ+ politics have been under surveillance - and siege - by political actors across the ideological spectrum for a much longer time period; an argument that puts into question the notions of backlash and temporal crisis. If we examine history in a grounded way and understand the consistency of attacks on LGBTQ+ political actors, coupled with the weaponizing of gender and sexuality, we see that these strategies call into question Eurocentric temporal understandings of identity, social change, and crisis (Rao 2020, Paternotte 2018). I utilize an intersectional approach to understanding how security and political-economic frames operate to "protect" some LGBTQ+ people while demonizing others (Bueno-Hansen 2021; Wilkinson 2021).

Hiding in Plain Sight: Queering Syrian Refugee Security in Lebanon

Jessy Abouarab, Florida International University

This paper explores the asymmetric impact of emerging and increasingly normalized refugee crises on LGBT+ politics/advocacy through a case study of Lebanon. Building on Bauman's Liquid Modernity framework, it addresses Lebanon's perpetual state of refugee crisis that manipulates security construction, normalizes sectarian governance, and affects contextual experiences of queer Syrians residing within its various communities. Applying Kimberly Crenshaw's structural, political, and representational intersectionality as a methodological tool, this single-case study evaluates the extent to which LGBT+ politics are addressed in risk societies through a multifaceted lens. First, this chapter contextualizes the structures of domination that guide performative refugee security and LGBT+ policy practices. It, then, highlights the heteronational attitudes towards sexual and gender expression and identity that hamper the rights and status of queer Syrian refugees. LGBT+ rights agendas get co-opted by invested parties, paradoxically marginalizing the very same ones that they are trying to 'save.' Drawing on published policies, stories, news, and reports, this chapter contributes to a discussion on representational intersectionality in Lebanon, where contextual dynamics of privilege and oppression shape the hidden queer refugee experiences in plain sight.

Anti-gender agenda, moral panics and the current Authoritarian turn in global politics: comparative lessons from Brazil and Central Europe

Gustavo Gomes da Costa Santos

Lecturer of Sociology, Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE). Research Affiliate (University of Glasgow) and Scientific collaborator (Université Libre de Bruxelles – ULB).

This paper aims to analyse the role of the opposition to LGBT rights in the recent authoritarian turn in Brazil, Hungary, and Poland. Despite their cultural, economic, and political differences, one can identify an important common feature: a populist and authoritarian discourse which articulates nationalism, patriotism, anticommunism together with a strong deference to the "Christian values" and has been mobilizing several social groups in support of authoritarian political projects. Drawing on recent debates about the role of gender and sexuality in the discourses around the rise of populist/authoritarian regimes in Europe and elsewhere, this paper analyses how the opposition to LGBT rights has been recently articulated to the extreme-right authoritarian agenda in the three countries. It will focus particularly on how "gender ideology" became a buzzword in moral panics

forged by religious and secular political leaderships that not only creates a common enemy/scapegoat able to unite different (and sometime antagonist) conservative and extreme-right groups, specially in electoral times, but also places the opposition to sexual and reproductive rights at the core of the authoritarian/ populist political projects implemented in the three countries.

Panel 2-5. Language Hierarchies and Feminism

Resisting the Global English Dominance: Linguistic Justice and Women in Japan

Ryoko Ishikawa, Ristumeikan University (in person)

English has become a Lingua Franca, or a universal language, in today's world. On the positive side, the emergence of the universal language enhances the development of cosmopolitan solidarity beyond borders. However, on the negative side, English as a Lingua Franca helps strengthen the power of the global market. With this situation in mind, political philosopher Phillipe van Parijs argues for the need to consider the linguistic injustice in Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World (2011). A significant problem with the current situation is that the native English speakers are freeriding the English-dominant system. In contrast, users of other languages are forced to learn English at extra cost and effort. This fosters damage to their cultural identity as they lose self-esteem since their mother tongue now appears less valuable to succeed in the global market. The question for users of languages other than English is how to resist this dominance. In Japan, some call for the protection of the Japanese language and the linguistic community. They claim such measures are essential for Japan to maintain the economic power in the global market and sustain the democratic self-determination capacity. This paper examines these claims from a feminist perspective. In short, these measures are problematic because they invoke cultural essentialism. Furthermore, like many other cultures, Japanese traditional culture is patriarchal and can restrain women's freedom and autonomy. Therefore, this paper attempts to clarify the ways to resist the global English dominance without falling into cultural essentialism.

Ryoko Ishikawa is an associate professor at Ritsumeikan University who specializes in the contemporary political theories of multiculturalism. She is currently working on the critical

analysis of the legitimacy of the cultural rights of the majority. She is also a Director of International Affairs and is committed to globalizing the university.

Reimagining Gendered Bilingualism in Indian Women's Autobiographical Writing

Nisha Ghatak, University of Auckland (virtual)

In 1947, India gained independence from the British and from what they had hoped was the last heave of colonisation. By their departure, the British had inculcated the English language into the Indian bloodstream so adroitly that it was now synonymous with the new-found Indian democratic identity. In the 280 years British ruled over India, one of the major changes introduced was the linguistic addition of English to the already multilingual, multicultural country. As of 2019, India has 22 official languages and over 19,500 spoken dialects. For the privileged Indian women of the 20th century, acquisition of the English language had enabled them to write back against patriarchy and social hypocrisies of the time. This presentation investigates how Indian women's autobiography as a genre complicates and investigates such unique linguistic dynamics. The works discussed in this presentation will problematise the use of mother-tongue and the politics of bilingualism in a postcolonial space like India. Building on these issues, the presentation will conclude with references to critical arguments foregrounded in current literary dialogues in the country, where female linguistic choices are increasingly being envisioned as a reflection of nationalistic sentiments and regional affinity.

"Un/translatability" As a Coalitional Methodology for Epistemic Resistance: A Meditation on Wangliang and Chicana Border Dweller

Chia-Hsu Chang, Binghamton University - SUNY (in person)

This research engages with "Wangliang (罔兩)" in (neo-)Cold-War Taiwan and the Chicana border dweller in North America – the two resistant subjects nurtured in each of their geohistorical particularities – to meditate on the following questions: What is the existential substance of the resistant subjects that I call "the third-world women of color" if these subjects are not the products of the modern/colonial representational system but the active persons "in flesh"? How do Wangliang and Chicana border dweller mirror each other in pointing us to imagine the third-world women of

color's shared social liminality and coalitional positionality? My presentation will firstly elucidate how the modern/colonial representational system re/produce the interlocking racial-gender oppression that renders Wangliang and Chicana border dweller unrepresentable and at the same time erases their resistant subjectivity. Secondly, I will clarify Wangliang's and Chicana border dweller's isomorphic yet distinct social liminalities and how such liminalities are foundational to their decolonial positionality for a coalitional politics. Finally, I will propose the idea of "un/translatability" as a coalitional methodology for the epistemic resistance. I argue that Wangliang and Chicana border dweller could be bridged through a strategic combination of translation and untranslatability – the former makes themselves understandable and communicable to each other, while the latter rejects the racializing-gendering oppressors' vicious interpretation and surveillance. This research invites the audience to think of "the third-world women of color" as a self-defined coalitional identity that is more than the passive and fragmented residue of modernity.

Reflections on the concept of feminism from Brazil and Mozambique

Sophia Branco, University of Barcelona/Federal University of Pernambuco (in person)

There is no agreement on what it means to be a feminist or when and how feminism emerged as a political struggle. The transformations that the concept past in recent decades questions the understanding of what it means to be a woman and the need to broaden the understanding of gender inequalities and women's resistance beyond the experiences of white middle-class women in Europe and in the US. Talking about feminisms, in the plural, was a solution found to circumvent the risks of a one-sided history that obscures the plurality of women's struggles worldwide. This claim places the diversity of women at the center of the understanding of feminism. In this paper, I raise questions regarding how the ways in which the expansion of feminism as a category has been done helps us to think about the idea of feminism itself. I raise this issues from an overview of the history of feminism in Brazil and in Mozambique, in dialogue with theoretical debates around the definition of feminism. By looking into two different experiences in the Global South, I highlight other developments in feminist activism beyond it's hegemonic narrative. Alongside the many differences in the experiences of these two countries, we also identified elements that cross the contemporary experiences of feminist political organization beyond them. One of this elements is the existence of a feminist praxis that has as one of its characteristics the way in which feminism has been reinventing itself by dealing with the plurality of women's experiences.'

Panel 2-6. Laboring in Times of Crisis and Beyond

Moderator: Elizabeth Prügl (in person)

Going Global but Staying Local: The Mechanics of a Local Labor Control Regime in Export-Oriented Garment Manufacturing in India

Salil Sapre, Michigan State University (in person)

Internal (within-country) migrant women constitute an increasingly significant proportion of workers employed in global supply chain (GSC) settings. Considering that researchers focusing on these contexts have emphasized either gendered or migrant identities at a time, migrant women's intersectional subjectivities and agency remain largely underexplored in GSC scholarship. In this finegrained qualitative inductive study, I take a worker-centered approach to analyze migrant women's intersectional experiences and the influence of their agency on local employment relationships in a South Indian export-oriented garment industrial cluster. I borrow from labor and feminist geography and anchor this study in Andrew E. G. Jonas's Local Labor Control Regime framework. While paying attention to migrant women's embodied experiences in social, economic, and material spheres, I interrogate how employer practices are tailored towards extracting surplus value from migrant women in ways that reinforce their intersecting vulnerabilities rooted in gender and migration status. I also assess how expressions of worker agency, in turn, impact local worker-management dynamics in unique ways, including those that are self-exploitative for workers themselves. The paper thus encourages a push for feminist scholars examining GSC settings towards consideration of diverse worker groups and their intersecting subjectivities, their agency, and its unique impact on local capitalist relationships. Doing so is critical because these dynamics have important theoretical implications for better explaining regional competitive advantage as well as practical ramifications for upholding the rights of the most vulnerable workers in oppressive GSC labor regimes.

Gendered implications on Covid-19 pandemic induced economic policies on women in informal labour economy in Sri Lanka Nedha de Silva, Monash University (virtual)

With the heightening of the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, the implementation of health and mobility restrictions led to a sharp drop in the Sri Lankan economy. This was mostly felt by the informal economy that amounts to over 60 percent of the labour force. Of this, the majority are women. While the Sri Lankan government introduced economic policies that target the informal sectors of the country during the pandemic, these were highly gendered. Using a case study on the informal labour market in Sri Lanka, this study attempts to explore the gendered implications of such economic policies on women entrepreneurs who constitute the majority of the Sri Lankan informal economy. Reiterating recent studies on the relationship between the pandemic and women's work, the findings emphasize the challenges that women face simply because they are women with the general changes to lifestyle that the onset of the pandemic has brought in terms of increased social reproductive and productive work. Moreover, it highlights that policies push women to economic insecurity and increase their financial burden.

Sun, Gender and Racialized Effects of Economic Recessions: Compare the Covid Pandemic Recession with the Great Recession of 2007-2009 in the US

Xiao Sun, University of Florida (virtual)

Economic recessions have disproportionate impacts on different segments of the population. Unlike the 2008 financial crisis in which men experienced disproportionate unemployment, women, particularly women of color, have borne the brunt of most job losses in this 2020-2022 pandemic-induced recession. The unique gender pattern of unemployment is called "mancession" in the Great Recession and "shecession" in this pandemic recession. This paper examines intersctional (gender and race) effects of these two recessions in the US. I argue that the disproportionate job losses among different segments of the population are results of the long-standing sexual and racial inequalities in the forms of uneven division of productive labor in the market and reproductive labor within the family. My research plans to employ statistical analysis to assess gender and race unemployment gaps during two periods: 2007-2009 and 2020-2021 in the US. I will not only look at employment composition by industry over time but also will explore possible factors: education, marital status, children, types of employment (full-time/part-time), work flexibility (telecommuting),

housework (childcaring), and so on. Besides, my research will also pay attention to possible recovery gaps and identify who gets rehired and which sector recovers faster than others. The paper will contribute to our understanding of the uneven impacts of recessions and urge policymakers to prioritize the needs of the most affected groups rather than downplaying or normalizing the gender and racial disparities.

Celebration as Disaster: A Feminist Political Economy Analysis of Tokyo Olympics under the COVID-19 Pandemic

Hisako Motoyama, Ritsumeikan University (in person)

The International Olympics Committee (IOC) and Japanese host organizations hailed the 2021 Tokyo Olympics as "most gender-balanced" and "great success" despite the Covid-19 pandemic, ignoring how it had affected women and marginalized groups by expanding infection, pressured public health and domestic care, and left huge debts. Through what Jules Boykoff calls "celebration capitalism" the Olympics spectacle, purportedly spreading equality and diversity, provided corporations with global marketing opportunities while the public sector bore the costs and risks. Meanwhile, for Japan and other Asian states, the Olympics has provided opportunities to establish their image as developed nations, attracting international investment for development projects since the 1960s. Although this celebratory capitalist event became a disaster for public health and welfare under the pandemic, this development model still holds sway. Critical feminist examination is thus necessary to reveal how contradictory gendered manipulations are exploited in pumping up public resources and spaces for the use of capital. Applying the feminist political economy lens, I discuss how the Tokyo Olympics, presented as the recovery from the disaster that hit northeastern Japan in 2011, was actually a mega redevelopment project to boost the national economy. Then I focus on popular uproar over the sexist remarks by the head of Japanese organizing committee, discussing how the Olympics that hailed gender equality ideals actually relied on local patriarchy to silence critical voices. Finally, examining how the loss of public resources would affect most marginalized groups, I provide some thoughts for further developing international feminist critiques on mega capitalist events.

Panel 3-1. Islam and Gender in Japan and South Korea I

Chair: Sohoon Yi, Kyungpook National University

Discussant: Joowon Yuk, Kyungpook National University

Contextual Conversations: Islam & Muslims in South Korea and Japan

Keiko Sakai, Chiba University, Brief Overview of Islam and Muslims in Japan **Farrah Sheikh, Keimyung University,** Brief Overview of Islam and Muslims in South Korea

Evacuation from Afghanistan and Japan's Border Control

Reiko Ogawa, Chiba University

On 15th August 2021, the Taliban seized control over Afghanistan, which led to the harrowing exodus of thousands in fear of what will come next. The fear was real for those who have worked for international organizations, foreign governments, ethnic and religious minority groups, and highly educated women who became the primary target of the Taliban. This paper first examines the evacuation of Afghans who had a "well-founded fear of persecution" due to its association with Japan. It discusses how Japan fortified its borders in an invisible and sophisticated manner to prevent the entry of Afghans. Even though Japan has ratified the 1951 International Refugee Convention, the Afghan evacuees were caught within the interlocking systems of exclusion based on race, gender, class, religion, and international politics, where the legitimate mode of acceptance was restricted to those who were young, independent, and productive. Secondly, Afghan evacuation also revealed the gendered nature of Japan's migration/refugee regimes. Immigration policy based on the nuclear family with the male-breadwinner model, excluded the members of the expanded family particularly the most vulnerable and in need of care, such as old-age parents. The paper contends that the ways in which the state responded to the evacuation of Afghans, effectively visualized the fortification of border control based on the intersection of race, gender, class and religion that is deeply embedded within the state institutions.

Narratives in South Korea's 'Refugee Crisis': Islamophobia, #MeToo, and Yemeni Refugees on Jeju Island

Farrah Sheikh, Keimyung University (in person)

2018 was a politically tempestuous time for South Korea as a little over 500, mostly male, Yemeni asylum-seekers landed on Korea's Jeju Island. Their unexpected arrival caught Korean society, already in the midst of its own #MeToo wave off guard, resulting in a wave of pro- and anti-refugee demonstrations across the country. Fueled by real and fake news about refugee illegal activities in Europe, anti-refugee backlash in Korea took an Islamophobic and feminist tone. Based on digital ethnography, this article presents observations from online voices – refugees, feminists, and media actors – expressed through Naver News and Naver Cafes to assess the ways in which Korea's refugee crisis was represented in local and global anti-refugee and Islamophobic narratives, aimed in particular at Muslim men.

Panel 3-2. Muslim Womanhood, Feminist Spaces and the Nation-State

Negotiating Female Public Space - All India Muslim Women Personal Law Board and Gender Justice

Misbah Rashid, Hyderabad, GITAM University (in person)

The two primary frameworks undertaken for understanding Islam have been – the mainstream Western dominant discourse, which presents Islam as fundamentalist religion and an inferior non-Western culture; and second, the Muslim response to Islam which has been taken as clichéd, and as one tending to reinforce orthodoxy. Critics hold Islam responsible for the deplorable condition of Muslim women suffering under religion because of the intrinsic gender bias entailed in it. The mentioned Islamic worldview and its manifestations do not capture the prospects of disrupting these hegemonic spaces by Muslim women themselves. This paper will extricate the complexities

involved in the Muslim women's responses to Islam, by looking into the activism of Shaista Amber and her organization All India Muslim Women Personal Law Board (AIMWPLB) based in Lucknow, India. I will argue that by re-interpretation of Islamic sources in a manner that engages the lived realities of women the Board is able to dispense justice by negotiating patriarchal gender norms and laws. The campaign of the Board is not to save Muslim women by denigrating their religion which to media and secular liberals is backward and regressive, instead providing a female legal space to articulate claims of justice and re-locating their rights within the Islamic discourse itself. Amber has done this by successfully constituting a model nikahnama (marriage contracts), khuli adalats (open courts), and occupying public spaces like mosques. The Board presents itself as a site of resistance against the hegemony of the ulama and redefines the concept of flexibility of laws.

Misbah Rashid is currently working as an Assistant Professor Gitam University, Hyderabad. Previously, she worked as Visiting faculty Chandigarh University, Chandigarh and as a senior researcher at the Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi. She holds a Ph.D, degree in Political Science from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her work is centered around Islamic jurisprudence, Gender and Family Laws in Islam, Muslim Personal law, Communal violence in South Asia and In-Migration and labour rights in Kashmir. Her articles on Islam, blasphemy laws and gender have appeared in peer-reviewed journals.

Precarity, Agency, Activism and Democratisation: The Curious case of Muslim Women in Protest in India

Syed Tahseen Raza, Aligarh Muslim University (in person)

The protests led by Muslim women against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) produced unique assemblages across India. This protest did not just debunk the imagination of Muslim women as the 'weakest of the weak' who needed to be saved by the majoritarian state, as exemplified in the debates around Islamic divorce the previous year but also resulted in the deepening of democracy which was witnessing a downward spiral. Taking direct action against the state, Muslim women created a crack in their image as 'weak' and 'silent,' mapping a place for themselves and all marginalised citizens in India. In this paper I analyze their protests, particularly in Shaheen Bagh (Delhi) and in the city of Aligarh and explore the collective aspect of the protests that cut across the boundaries of caste, class, and religion, providing a variety of people a place to come together against the state's amended and discriminatory citizenship policy, forging new assemblages of peace and possibilities of belonging. Using the concept of precarity and agency to understand the political import of Muslim women assembling to protest and representing in their actions the rights of citizenship, I try to see how such activism didnot only help retrieve the shrinking democratic space but in fact deepened it, through their leading role.

Disrupting the 'paradigms of submission': Muslim women and digital political communication in the context of Kerala

Athira BK, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (virtual)

Cybernetic developments in the last two decades have arguably enabled novel means of constructing dialogues and expressing oppositional consciousness among disadvantaged groups, including Muslim women. This paper looks into the role of networked social media as a tool in the creation of a new form of feminism by addressing discrimination along different lines, where a blend of caste, sexuality and religion-based questions constitute a core component of cyberactivism among the young Muslim women from Kerala, India. While this aids in the expression of feminist concerns to both a local and global audience, it also serves as a strategy to assert their local, regional as well national identities against the construction of the hyphenated identity of 'Indian Muslim'. In a political backdrop characterised by hatred of Muslims on one hand and an electoral call for unity of the oppressed, the paper attempts to document expressions of resistance against hierarchical oppression. Data collected from in-depth interviews with 20 Muslim female students between the age group 20-30 reveal the significance of their class, educational background as well as a Malayali identity in receiving, creating and interpreting content on social media. The multiple layers of resistance and interrogations associated with their religious and gender identity surmise the methodological lacunae in considering Islam as a monolithic practice and the North-Indian case as the ubiquitous representative of Muslims in the sub-continent. Keywords: Muslim Women, Gender, Social Media, Resistance

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Lives of Afghan Women under the Taliban Rule: The Burqa Trope, Media Representation, and Knowledge Production

Debangana Chatterjee, JAIN, Bangalore (Karnataka) (virtual)

As the Taliban took over Afghanistan, plights of Afghan women have made it to the headlines. While the world has justifiably remained vigil over the state of women in the country, simultaneously resurfaced burqa as the vivid marker of Afghan women's curtailed freedom. The paper explicates how the Western media outlets turn Afghan women's bodies into the site of politics by colonising

the domain of knowledge and validating the orientalist discourse against the Afghan 'savagery'. The representation of women's plight in parallel with the exclusionary Islamic images as the 'other' are explored and examined. The paper argues that the sympathy invoking affirmations on Afghan women's lives take away from the grueling ground realities in the country. While women's compliance with burga is made equivalent to their silences, their voices against war are deliberately ignored. Burqa that at best may be taken as a signifier of women's realities in the country becomes metonymic to the problem itself. Ironically, even the non-imposition of burga by the Taliban government becomes the template for a 'moderate' Taliban. In essence, the colonial essentialisation of the shackled women in burga not only adds fire to Islamophobia but also shifts the focus of the problem which is deeply entrenched in the ruins of imperial agendas. Two questions remain relevant in this regard. Firstly, how does the Western media contribute to creating the exoticised image of Afghan women? Secondly, how should these imageries be juxtaposed against Afghan women's narratives? The paper analyses the some of the opinions published during the first week of Taliban take over in select liberal Western newspaper outlets for the exposition of such an essentialised image creation and focuses on narratives emanating from Afghan women themselves in order to place burga in perspective vis-à-vis women's agency.

Dr. Debangana Chatterjee is an Assistant Professor, JAIN (Deemed-to-be University), Bangalore (India).

Panel 3-3. Care Circuits between Patriarchal and Feminist Politics

Moderator: Elizabeth Prügl (in person)

Intersectionalized hate: Korean-Chinese migrant worker and the feminized care labor

Seohwa Park, Kangwon Ilbo (in person)

This study explores the relationship between feminized care labor, ethnicity, and hate in South Korea. Nowadays, the Korean care industry is widely supported by Korean-Chinese care workers. However, although Korean society relies on Korean-Chinese care workers for elderly care primarily operated in the "Yoyang (nursing)" hospital, workers are exposed to violence and hate in the

vulnerable labor environment. This study conceptualizes this phenomenon as "Intersectionalized hate" and investigates the structure of intersectionalized oppression in Korean society. The hate toward Korean-Chinese migrant workers in Yoyang hospitals comprises three dimensions; ethnicity, gender, and the Korean care system. Although the oppression composed many inequalities and social problems in Korean culture, only little is known about how the oppression is made and related to other sectors. In the ethnicized Korean care system, ethnicity, gender, and class are intertwined and strengthen structural inequalities in South Korea. Female Korean-Chinese health care workers are expected to work in the care labor with a feminized reproductive labor environment. Since Korean society is in a highly nationalistic environment, they are hired as 'substitutional goods' instead of Korean workers. This mechanism strengthens the vulnerable low-income structure of reproduction labor and social class of the Korean-Chinese migrant. Additionally, 'Hate' supported ethnicized Korean health care system, represented as national Health care insurance services, and reproducing inequity of the whole care system. By analyzing how the intersectionality worked in the "Yoyang (nursing)" hospital, I will clarify the relationship between ethnicity, gender, and the ethnicized Korean health care system strengthening inequity.

Gendered experience of Covid 19 pandemic on Migrant Women Workers: A Case study of Delhi NCR region in India

Anam Fatima, India/Aligarh Muslim University
Syed Tahseen Raza, India/Aligarh Muslim University (In person)

Covid 19 wreaked its havoc throughout India and every section of society was severely effected one way or the other. As it is expected during any such calamity, the poor and the marginalised had to ultimately bear the brunt in the severest form. The impact of Covid 19 similarly had a very pernicious gendered impact. The migrant women workers who being devoid of their permanent status had to face many added layers of marginalisation and discrimination. How these migrant women survived the period of Covid 19, despite all the obvious parameters being on the negative, underlines the significance of creative use of their agency and spirit of solidarity, issues which remain hitherto unexplored. Our work, by taking the example of women migrant workers of Delhi NCR region in India, will analyse how women of this region managed the situation and in doing so will explore the theory of intersectionality, solidarity and feminist network.

Who Cares in Germany's Feminist Foreign Policy? A case Study of Germany's 'Triple Win' Project with the Philippines

Jessica Cheung, Free University Berlin Victoria Scheyer, Monash University (virtual)

Germany's recent commitment to adopt a feminist foreign policy mirrors a growing sentiment amongst self-constructed "progressive" and "developed" states to engage with a "value-driven" and cosmopolitan approach to foreign policy. As the country begins to formulate its new foreign policy agenda, questionable existing state practices, particularly within the domain of international development and cooperation, require further consideration and scrutiny. The German Government's Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) has maintained an ongoing global recruitment project, "Triple Win", aimed at training and employing nurses and care workers from the Philippines in order to support Germany's dwindling care industry. This institutionalised act of "goodwill" towards the Philippines is set against a violent history of colonial occupation which, despite much criticism, has remained unrecognised by the German state. Consequently, how can a German feminist foreign policy account for/respond to this colonial history of violence when prior and existing practices undermine its potential and meaning. Critical feminist scholars have long since contested the problematic and violent nature of gendered carework and its invisible role in the sustenance of global political economies. Usuing "Triple Win" as a case study, this presentation aims to link gendered care work migration and state development practices with feminist foreign policy from a largely absent feminist political economy perspective. It also serves to critique the embedded violence that underlies the emergence of a German (feminist) foreign policy by drawing attention to gendered and racialized power dynamics, strategic decision making, conditional citizenship rights and (neo)liberal industries sustaining the perpetuation of a (neo)colonial global political economy.

The Boundaries of Indonesian Migrant Worker: Gender Identity and Resistance

Anggaunitakiranantika, Ewha Womans University (in person)

Indonesia rests in networking and connectivity with others without its border and nation. This interaction deeply affected the local community, nation-state, citizenship, and women's identity, especially in today's mobility and social interaction. This research aims to explain Indonesia's women migrant worker interaction through borderland and address technology as new tools that could connect Indonesia migrant workers and affect women's social network, their connectivity in family, and patriarchal-society roles in Indonesia. The theoretical analysis used is the analysis of network society by Van Dijk and power relation by Foucault, where this concept is also related to the

gendered culture. This qualitative study examines those women migrant workers abroad use the internet to strengthen networks among fellow migrant workers aside from informing their families back home. In addition, social media makes migrant workers more open to themselves and their identity on social media (Tik Tok, Instagram, Facebook) and YouTube channels. Many Indonesian migrant workers who work in Taiwan and Hong Kong can become social media influencers because of their rationality in gaining power as social capital (for being women and working-class) in the information society. Previously, International migration for working women only seemed like shameful working, that only allowed the informal sector for Indonesian migrant workers. Involving Indonesian migrant workers has been seen as a new chance for decent prestigious work in this era. Network society among Indonesian migrant workers is brought the new gender perspective's affecting their thoughts and behavior as the fluid inter-connectedness among others; both in Indonesia and Abroad.

Political Leadership and the Role of Gender: Comparative study of Donald Trump and Jacinda Ardern's Approach to Covid 19

Aakriti Sethi, Jawaharlal Nehru University (in person)

Since the onset of Covid 19 global pandemic in 2020, the discourse on gender based leadership has gained fresh perspectives. As heads of states struggled to architect a coherent response towards this unfamiliar universal health care challenge, the difference in leadership styles on the basis of gender gained media attention. At the time, various governments in countries like Taiwan, Iceland, Denmark, Germany, and Finland were headed by women leaders. Particularly, the case of PM Jacinda Ardern being successful in achieving zero community transmission of Covid 19 in New Zealand when the rest of world was tackling rising infection rates created a stark contrast. On the other hand, President Donald Trump's skepticism towards science, lax in response, downplayed approach and bureaucratic communication gaps amounted to America leading the global death tolls. Even as the two countries are dissimilar in terms geographic range and political systems, the variance in behavior, beliefs and decision making in the wake of risk and uncertainty while coping with a national crisis by PM Ardern and President Trump creates an opportunity to assess. The research would probe the role of gender in forming attitudes of the two leaders about Covid 19 and the policy options they adopted. The paper would essentially address leadership style from the spectrum of masculine-feminine character traits and the push pull factor of reducing fatalities and economic priorities.

Panel 3-4. Cultural and Social Contestations: Perspectives from India

Remapping the Gender Discourse in India: An Anti-Caste Approach to Women's Property Rights

Komal Rajak, Indian Institute of Science, Education and Research (virtual)

Considering Brahmanism as the hegemonic structure in the Indian subcontinent, the mainstream feminist discourse requires to be debrahmanized. The gender discourse requires a reckoning with anti-caste perspectives to widen its dynamics. The question of women's emancipation in the Global South in general and in Hindu social order precisely is disregarded and destabilized. It problematizes and complicates the existing epistemology and underscores the necessity of debrahmanizing the gender discourse. The feminist discourse is supposedly meant to shape a society based on the principles of equity, dignity and democracy, whereas it displays the structures of power and divisiveness. Mainstream Indian feminism locates itself in [Hindu] traditions and customary practices that carry the power structures. It disregards not merely the plight of women of marginalized sections but also the emancipatory ideas emanated from this section. The Brahmanical control over women's body and sexuality, and exclusion of ex-untouchables or scheduled castes are executed by allocation of property resources, through which caste is relayed and produced. It is the proprietorial stance of Hinduism, that subjugates women to male-control, hence her property too under the control of her male-relatives. It keeps her in a state of subjection and dependence. This paper, using anti-caste perspective, scrutinizes whether how gender is conceptualized by State-apparatuses in reference to certain legal developments on women's inheritance and property rights. The hypothesis of women's property right believes that women with rights can negotiate with the customary practices, and that women with equal rights in inheritance, multiply not only their material wealth, but acquire political power as well.

Komal Rajak is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at IISER Mohali. She has defended her Doctoral thesis, "Contextualizing Hindu Code Bill in Women's Empowerment: An Inquiry into Hindu Women's Property Rights (2021). It revolves around the significance of property and property rights with Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Dignity, Democracy, and to access diverse human rights, in reference to the Hindu religious laws that continue denying rights for women and for Dalits or [ex]untouchables.

Gendering Inter-caste Marriages: A Sociological and Anthropological Inquiry of Endogamy

Sargam Sanil, University of Delhi

In Indian society, caste and gender are not mutually exclusive constructs. They coexist and are inseparable. India's meteoric rise to becoming a nation least safe for women as Thomas Reuters reported in 2018, has its origins not only in patriarchy but also in casteism. This is most clearly visible with reference to the phenomenon of inter-caste marriages in India and the resulting perpetuation of atrocities on the inter-caste couple, and women have been the worst sufferers of this, since it is women's bodies that has, since time immemorial, been the site of violence and discrimination. This can be corroborated by the fact that while Hindu scriptures has institutionalised inter-caste marriages, to a limited extent, by allowing anuloma marriages, it, in no way, allows for a pratiloma union. The anuloma marriages permit an alliance between a lower caste woman and a higher caste man, while the pratiloma form of marriage is an alliance between a higher caste woman and a lower caste man. The former is referred to as hypergamy and the latter as hypogamy. Thus, while caste discrimination and violence against women as distinct forms of oppression has garnered much attention, little sociological and anthropological research in the area of inter-caste marriage and its implications on women within the framework of religio-cultural, anthropological and sociological discourse, has come on surface. The paper focuses on fundamental prerequisites for a wholehearted acceptance of intermarriage. Keywords: patriarchy, casteism, hypergamy, hypogamy, endogamy.

Peeling Back The Layers: A Postcolonial Feminist Analysis of Marital Rape, Social Scripts and the Public-Private Divide in India

Hazel Ebenezer, University of Kent (in person)

Violence against women (VAW) in the public realm is a familiar issue both in India and across the globe. However, VAW within the household, or the private sphere, still does not get the attention or action that it needs. The failure to substantively account for private forms of VAW within India can largely be associated with the influence of the public-private divide. This glaring renders many forms of DV as private, and therefore immune to excessive interference by the State. It is further reinforced by social scripts and perceptions, which minimize the influence of existing legal frameworks. To meaningfully understand this divide and its impact on women in India, it is important to utilise a postcolonial feminist lens on the relationship between women in the private sphere, social perceptions, and the law.

Through the postcolonial feminist lens, this research contributes to a global feminist conversation on

the ways in which legal provisions surrounding private forms of VAW fall short – particularly on the issue of marital rape in India. Firstly, the research analyses the current legal status and discourse surrounding marital rape. To understand a continued marital rape immunity, it then examines social scripts within Indian society dictating the role of the wife, of the husband and of marriage itself – as well as the colonial, patriarchal and intersectional origins of these scripts. Finally, after acknowledging how such social perceptions constantly replicate and reinforce the marital rape immunity in law, the research explores post-colonial feminist avenues for changes in society and policy.

'Seeing' as Feminist Politics: Changing Understandings of the Political in India's Autonomous Women's Movement-

Vasudha Katju, Kautilya School of Public Policy (virtual)

How do feminists define politics and power? What consequences do these definitions have for feminist activism and practice? In this paper, I explore these questions in the context of India's Autonomous Women's Movement (AWM). Based on my doctoral research on this movement, I argue that there have been shifts in the ways Indian feminists have conceptualised politics. Over the course of AWM history, politics has shifted from being seen in terms of acts of intervention and mobilisation to being seen in terms of acts of interpretation and the cultivation of a breadth and depth of insight. I argue that while this shift has allowed AWM activists to become analytically sharper, for example around issues of gender and differences between women, it has also led to a sense of malaise and ineffectiveness. The movement's conceptualisation of what feminist politics entails has made it harder for it to be effective in the sense in which it defines the term: as actually bringing about change.

Panel 3-5 Women and Gender Equality as Goals: Political and Policy Questions for Feminism

Military Women in the Indian National Security Discourse

Chauhan, Kiran, Jawaharlal Nehru University (in person)

This paper aims to look at the discourses around military women in India in the broader context of National Security. The study analyses discourses around the Indian Military from a gender lens, uncovering the narratives around women in the Military in the media discourses. Women were first inducted in permanent commission in the Indian Military in 1992 and since then have made considerable headway in the Indian Military. However, do they figure in the national security narratives and discourses? And in what ways? What are the depictions regarding women in the Military? How do these depictions engage with the notions of agency of military women? The aim is to uncover the gendered narratives around women in Indian Military and National Security. Drawing from Feminist Security Studies, the paper presents a gender-sensitive reading of the Media narratives of military women, official documents by the Government of India and the Ministry of Defense, various judgements by the Indian judiciary regarding women in the Military. This paper examines implicit gender norms and stereotypes regarding women in the Indian Military, building a comprehensive understanding of the discourses around military women in India's national security Framework.

Elite women, power and window-dressing in African politics

Norita Mdege, Geneva, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (in person)

One of Zimbabwe's most accomplished women politicians, Joice Mujuru, has held positions of member of parliament, minister and vice-president of the country. However, perceptions about her power to influence decisions in a context characterised by dominant 'Big men' have led to her elite status being the subject of debate among feminists and political activists. For some, Mujuru represented patriarchal interests and was sometimes labelled part of 'window-dressing' designed by male elites who wished to give the misleading impression that they included women in power centres. In this paper, I trace the various debates and ideas surrounding Mujuru's position in Zimbabwean politics to demonstrate the need for a sociometric elite theory that considers women's positions in African politics. Unlike their male counterparts, the 'Big men' who are often simultaneously politicians, community leaders, and businessmen, women lack resources to exchange for political support and maintain their influence. Combinations of positional, decisional and reputational research methods and generally accepted definitions of political elites that consider

individuals' and groups' disproportionate power to affect national political outcomes on a continuing basis may be inadequate to fully capture the experiences of women political elites in Africa because of elite women's complex relationships with dominant masculine political networks and non-elites. Mujuru, whose political legitimacy is primarily derived from her participation in Zimbabwe's anticolonial struggle, exemplifies experiences of many African women in politics who often gain access to political positions during moments of transition or crisis but find themselves being pushed to the margins of power

"Just Pass the Mic to Us": Political Agency and Representation of Refugee Women in the UK

Zeynep Kilicoglu, Florida International University (virtual)

The current refugee system reproduces gender hierarchies by representing women refugees as helpless victims, which undermines their representation and disrupts integration processes in reception societies. Many actors, including the media, politicians, and the humanitarian sector, put vulnerability at the center when articulating images of women refugees to provoke public attention. Yet, these figures also serve a political purpose. Representing women as silenced visual bodies is an act of power, in which a white Western masculine subjectivity could reinforce its political limits and communicate its identity (Rajaram, 2002). In light of such issues, this paper aims to investigate feminist interventions by aid organizations in the UK that challenge the dominant representations of refugee women as victimized individuals. Alternatively, using different tools such as public speaking, photography, and poetry, refugee women tell their own authentic stories without being dependent on external actors in the aid sector and reclaim their authorship and political agency.

Gendered, Racialized Social Policies and Institutional Practices: Evidences from Devolved Systems of Government in Kenya

Justa Mwangi, Kenyatta University, Kenya (in person) Wilson Muna, Kenyatta University Gitile Naituli, Multimedia University

Unscientific and false beliefs about gender and race are significant mechanisms through which social policies and institutional practices in devolved governments are defined. This paper looks at how informal rules and mechanisms in this context are gendered and racialized and the manner in which they interact with social policies and institutional practices. Results draw from empirical data framed within institutional theory, policy networks theory, and the theory of the commons. A total of 122 respondents were interviewed and 2 FGDs of 8 participants each. Findings show that gender and racial myths significantly affected the framing of social policies and institutional practices in devolved governments. This impacted negatively on women and racialized groups who continue to confront stigma, bias, discrimination and profiling when accessing public services. As in a vicious circle, their discrimination inexorably reinforced gender and racial myths circulating in the general society. This outcome explains why many public policies on gender and racial equality have failed. Therefore, the findings provide areas of policy intervention by devolved units through interaction with informal rules in a bid to achieve gender and racial justice within their jurisdictions.

Justa Mwangi studied for her PhD in Public Policy at Kenyatta University and holds an MSc. in Public Relations from the University of Stirling. She is a cabinet minister in government and a global expert with over 30 years experience in management. Her research interests include gender, corruption and devolution.

Embroidering in Fabric: Voicing Women Agency through Indonesia's Local Wisdom

Nurul Hidayati, Universitas Negeri Malang Anggaunitakiranantika, Ewha Womans University (in person)

Indonesia has potential in the fashion industry spread across within nation. Every ethnic, province, and community in society developed their idea for sustaining their culture through the industry. In East Java Province, Indonesia there are 127 business units are employing 975 female-dominated workers. However, to sustain the business, entrepreneurs which are usually held by men are genderless and not aware of gender knowledge in their products as an aesthetic. This research aims to explore and analyze raising women's figures in Indonesia, which is usually left behind by men through the fabric. The women are being the subject of the main products on ready-to-wear clothes,

which is captured based on Indonesia's culture. These are framed from Indonesian culture puts women in the domestic sector as part of patriarchal culture.

The design of this research is ethnography research using a qualitative approach. The informant is a women entrepreneur and fashion handmade embroidery worker in East Java Province, Indonesia. Using purposive sampling, research was done by applying Simone de Beauvoir's thought on women as second sex in Indonesia. The results are that women's figures in the fabric are quite new in Indonesia's fashion industry. Entrepreneurs have developed these patterns to voice up their position through the patriarchal culture and address gender equity through culture, which is the classical design is figured out by men and varying the color from the dark color in the fabric into the pastel and colorful as the new ideas.

Panel 3-6. Feminist Inquiries for Climate Justice (Oceania Hub Plenary Roundtable)

Convened by Sara E Davies
Chair: Esther Onyango, Griffith University

Discussants:

Betty Barkha, Monash University

Beth Goldblatt, University of Technology Sydney and University of the Witwatersrand Shireen Hassim, Carleton University, Ottawa and University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Rowena Maguire, the School of Law at QUT and the Program Leader of the Environmental Law Research Group

Elise Stephenson, Global Institute for Women's Leadership, Australian National University Maria Tanyag, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU

The UNFCCC Gender Action Plan acknowledges:

Climate change is a challenge that impacts every aspect of our economies and societies. And we are out of time. We need a rapid and radical transition away from the status quo to low-carbon, resilient economies and societies.

Ensuring women participate equally with men in solution-building, and ensuring that women have equal access and input to the new economy will accelerate our move away from business as usual, towards a transformative low-carbon future.

Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is undoubtedly a rights issue AND to meet the ambitious 1.5 C degrees target and limiting warming to well below 2 C, the needs, perspectives and ideas of 100% of the population must be included to build solutions that are effective, just and sustainable

A just transition to climate impacts will require feminist research and solutions at all levels - but what should that look like? What kinds of feminist inquiries contribute to climate justice? This panel will discuss the displacement impacts of climate change, the need for inclusive climate leadership, the responsiveness of communities through climate activism and need for feminist informed climate financial

Chair: Esther Onyango is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Planetary Health and Food Security, Griffith University. She is an Interdisciplinary Researcher with experience in microbiology, laboratory science research, field experimental research, large-scale ecological research, stakeholder engagement and policy analysis. Her motivation is to work in the science-policy interface to translate research outputs into policy and practice that addresses the human health risks that arise from environmental impacts. In her current role at Griffith University Australia, she have developed an interdisciplinary framework to address the threats of mosquito-borne diseases under changing climate and the subsequent implications for climate change and public health adaptation policy and practice.

Speakers:

Betty Barkha is currently a final year PhD Candidate at Monash University and a technical advisor to FHI 360 on Environment and Climate Change (ECC). Her PhD research is focused on examining the gendered impacts of climate change-induced mobilities in the Pacific, specifically looking at planned relocation and displacement in Fiji. Betty is a recipient of the Monash University Faculty of Arts International Postgraduate Research Scholarship. Betty has been involved with various development organisations in Asia and the Pacific region since 2009. Prior to commencing her PhD, she worked with Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) in Thailand. She is currently co-chair of the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) and is on the board of the CIVICUS Alliance (a world alliance for citizen participation). Betty is also an advisor to FRIDA Young Feminist Fund and the Global Resilience Fund for Women and Girls (in response to COVID-19). Betty was the Monash GPS Visiting Youth Fellow in Women's Rights in Asia and the Pacific in 2017 and holds a Masters of Arts in Sociology and a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Psychology.

Beth Goldblatt is a Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney and a Visiting Professor in the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand. She researches and teaches in the areas of feminist legal theory, equality and discrimination law, comparative constitutional law, and human rights with a focus on economic and social rights, and the right to social security in particular.

Beth is co-director, with Dr Cristy Clark, of the Berkeley Center on Comparative Equality & Anti-Discrimination Law's Working Group on Climate Change.

Professor Shireen Hassim is Canada 150 Research Chair in Gender and African Studies at Carleton University, Ottawa and Visiting Professor at WiSER, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. She has written and edited several books including Women's Organisations and Democracy: Contesting Authority; No Shortcuts to Power: Women and Policymaking in Africa, and Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Politics of Difference in South Africa.

Rowena Maguire is an Associate Professor in the School of Law at QUT and the Program Leader of the Environmental Law Research Group. Rowena's research interests, publication and projects focus on climate and environmental regulation with a particular focus on equitable design and implementation informed by feminist and critical theory. Rowena is currently working on two research programs: climate adaptation and disaster framework institutional and regulatory analysis to identify how vulnerable populations can be better recognised and supported within policy funded by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research and the Centre for Justice, QUT. The second programme of work focuses on the social and environmental issues associated with the fashion industry with projects funded by the Cotton Research Development Corporation, Australian Retailers Association and the Department of Agriculture, Water, and the Environment.

Elise Stephenson is a Research Fellow at the Global Institute for Women's Leadership, Australian National University, Fellow of the National Security College, Adjunct at the Griffith Asia Institute, and 2022 Fulbright Scholar. Elise's research focuses on gender, sexuality and leadership in frontier international relations, from researching space policy, to diplomacy, national security, intelligence, security vetting, international representation, climate justice, and the Asia Pacific. She is interested in how states engage with the world on grand challenges - as well as whom is at the forefront of that engagement.

Maria Tanyag is a Fellow / Senior Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, ANU. She was selected as one of the inaugural International Studies Association (ISA) Emerging Global South Scholars in 2019, and as resident Women, Peace and Security Fellow at Pacific Forum (Hawaii) in 2021.

Panel 4-1. Islam and Gender in Japan and South Korea II

Chair: Farrah Sheikh, Keimyung University (in person)
Discussants: Sohoon Yi, Kyoungpook National University

Mothering Practices of Korean Muslim Women in South Korea

YoonKyung Kwak, KIHASA

The mothering practice of migrants married to Korean nationals has been the subject of increased attention from a research and policy perspective. However, little is known about the mothering practices of Korean Muslim women married to Muslim husbands. In order to fill this gap, this study aims to identify their child-rearing experiences and how they responded to these challenges over the course of their married lives in South Korea. A semi-structured interview was carried out with 4 Korean women married to Muslim husbands. The results suggest that Korean women who had converted to Islam tended to make continuous efforts to deal with two seemingly competing sets of cultural expectations - Korean and Muslim. In other words, the women wanted to be good role models in their religious traditions and in children's education. On the one hand, the women gradually developed a deeper Islamic faith and accordingly supported their husbands in constructing Islamic identities for their children. On the other hand, the mothers tended to provide their children with the very best education. They believed education can be a tool to fight deep-seated prejudices and discrimination directed at them in Korean society, which places a high value on education as the result of the legacy of Confucianism. In order to respond to these challenges, they either send their kids to an international school or a public school in Korea, or a whole family move to a part of the United Arab Emirates to raise their children in the Islamic way.

(Re)creating female Muslim selfhood in Japan: Experiences of young adult daughters of Japanese mothers and Pakistani fathers

Masako Kudo, Rikkyo University

This paper explores the complex ways in which young adult daughters of Japanese mothers and Pakistani fathers navigate their early adulthood. Most of their parents married during the 1990s after a surge of labor migrants from Pakistan in the 1980s. Drawing on findings from in-depth interviews with these women, I show the difficulties and challenges that second-generation Muslims in Japan faced within and outside their homes as they grew up. They tended to feel alienated because of their appearances, names, and religious practices, for example, avoiding haram food at school, where the discourse of the homogenous Japanese nation continues to be reproduced. While the attitudes of their Muslim fathers and Japanese mothers, who converted to Islam upon marriage, varied and transformed over time, many parents, particularly fathers, expected their daughters to follow religiocultural ideals for Muslim women, which often conflicted with the norms of their non-Muslim peers at school. The study shows that women began reflecting on their painful experiences as they reached adulthood. Some tried to create new images of Muslim women for themselves through the processes of reinterpreting Islam. Such processes enable them to redefine them in relation not only to their parents but also to non-Muslims in mainstream society. This paper contends that the complex intersections of gender, religion, racialization, and other factors shape these young women's journeys of (re)creating Muslim selfhood in non-Islamic Japan.

Halal Cooking: A Case Study on Korean Muslim Women Cooking Korean Food

Halime Nur Yasar, Hanyang University

This paper aims to demonstrate what 'halal cooking' for Korean Muslim women is, how they deal with halal cooking and Korean food, and what it means to them in their everyday lives. Foodways are dynamic processes that emerge at the intersection of food and culture. What we consume, how we acquire it, who is involved in the preparation, manners at the table indicate a rich cultural base. People place themselves in a group according to their food practices and identify themselves and others by what kind of food is consumed and/or avoided. There are a lot of food practices that follow religious traditions with food prohibitions and restrictions. For instance, Jewish, Muslim, the Seventh Day Adventists do not eat pork. Some other religious traditions prohibit or restrict consumption of specific kinds of meat and/or any kinds of meat, such as Hindu, Buddhist, and vegetarian/vegan. In this context, Korean women who embrace Islam and choose to adopt an Islamic life form are

challenged with dietary norms based on a religious tradition they are learning and practicing. By adopting Islamic religious dietary norms into everyday life practices, the food they used to consume is available culturally adequate but becomes 'unclean' and 'prohibited' according to the Islamic food rules. A challenge starts not through becoming a Muslim but being a practicing Korean Muslim, particularly for women. According to the findings obtained from ethnographic fieldwork and indepth interviews with Korean Muslim women, Korean Muslim women are challenged with understanding halal notion, purchasing halal ingredients, struggling in halal cooking practices, and authenticity of Muslim foodways.

Ethnic Economies of Pakistani and Afghan Muslim Migrants in Japan and their Gender Roles: Focusing on Used Vehicles and Auto Parts Trade Businesses

Tomoko Fukuda, Chiba University

Pakistani and Afghan migrants were to become entrepreneurs and form their ethnic economies in the migration and integration processes. Pakistanis started various types of businesses (e.g., importers and sellers of carpets, marble, jewels, and halal foods) in the 1980s but gradually concentrated on the used car and auto parts trade businesses in Japan. Sri Lankans and Iranians followed them and entered the same markets. Afghans followed their Pakistani and Iranian predecessors and entered the used auto parts trade in the 1990s. These South Asian migrants expanded their business networks worldwide, first establishing trading footholds in their own countries and subsequently in such as Japan and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Based on sociological field research on Pakistani and Afghan migrant entrepreneurs in Japan, this paper aims to compare Pakistani and Afghan ethnic economies and their gender roles. In the case of Pakistanis, a large percentage were married to Japanese women. Therefore, the Japanese spouses often helped with their businesses, including preparing Japanese-language documents, managing the company, and even investing capital. Japanese support is an essential resource not only in business but also in the private sphere. On the other hand, few Afghans have Japanese spouses. Therefore, they generally rely on Japanese employees. These employees are usually women. They take care of the procedures for the Afghan president and his family to stay in Japan. They handle even the procedures at government offices and children's schools. As a result, Afghan women tend to stop participating in Japanese society.

Panel 4-2. Religion and Resistance: Feminist politics and Contemporary Indian Social Movements

Moderator: Swati Parashar

Visualizing a Feminist counter-space: Shaheen Bagh Muslim women protestors

Sruthi Muraleedharan, Shiv Nadar University (in person)

This paper aims to analyze the anti-CAA protests led by the Muslim women of Shaheen Bagh, India. The sit-in protest that began as a response to the passing of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act 2019 by the Indian Government. The protesters considered that the changes were discriminatory and against the ethos of equal citizenship enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The protests began in Shaheen Bagh (South –East Delhi) in mid- Dec 2019 and in the wake of the pandemic it had to demobilize abruptly by the end of March 2020. This sit-in was radical in multiple ways. Despite, India's political history replete with examples of people's movements and protests employing peaceful sitins, yet the Shaheen Bagh protests stands out for its forceful gendered symbolism and spatial claim making. The paper would aim to disentangle the intersection of gender, identity and space at play employing two images associated with the protests. Constituting the symbolic habitus of the protests in the popular imaginary, through them, I attempt to map and theorize the significant interventions that the Shaheen Bagh Muslim women protesters contribute in imagining a feminist counter-public. The paper will argue that, this critical alternative political imagination unsettles the 'mainstream' in two crucial ways. First, the spatial location of these protests, Shaheen Bagh, in the national capital emerged as the 'counter-space' for mobilizing a political critique for the anti-CAA forces. The protests shifts the compass to a Muslim majority location of the city, rather than the state-assigned protest sites of Jantar Mantar or Ramleela Maidan. Beyond the spatial signification, the 'Muslim-Women' leadership on the other hand, also dent and complicate the 'homogenous' understanding of the 'feminists' in the Indian women's movement.

Gender, Religion and Resistance in the anti-CAA protests in India

Yash Sharma, University of Cincinnati; Satakshi Singh, University of California, Santa Cruz (virtual)

This paper attempts to understand the pathways and politics of resistance within the anti-CAA/NRC protests in India. Located in the physical and symbolic periphery of Delhi and led by Muslim women, Shaheen Bagh emerged as a powerful site of resistance against, and reimagination of, hegemonic notions of nationalism, secularism, citizenship and belongingness in contemporary India. In particular, by exploring Shaheen Bagh as a case, this paper tries to understand the ways in which the protest was a reflection of an emergent solidarity, engendered in part by the communalization of everyday life in India and the rise of Hindu majoritarianism. We contend that Shaheen Bagh should not be seen merely as a culmination of historical injustice against Muslims in India or as a response to the existential threat of Hindu majoritarianism, but also as an organic resistance movement located at the intersection of gender and religion. This research aims to raise, rather than conclusively answer the following questions: How did Shaheen Bagh navigate its potential as a gender-based protest movement while framing a political opposition to CAA/NRC? In what ways did the participants mobilize the affective forces of anger, solidarity and hope? How does Shaheen Bagh offer us new vocabularies of thinking about alternative democratic futures? This study suggests that the best way to understand Shaheen Bagh is by resisting a linear or coherent reading and instead attending to the fragmentary, contested, and contradictory forms, which strengthened rather than weakened the effects of the protest.

Religion, Resistance, and Reform in Non-Violent Social Movements in India: Communal Counter-Narratives in the Farmers' and the CAA-NRC-NPR Protests-

Q Manivannan, University of St Andrews (in person)

The article reviews the Farmers' Protests and the CAA-NRC-NPR protests in India from Third World and feminist approaches to peace studies, international relations, and political science by reviewing the role of religious minorities in religious reform via their participation in these social movements. The research broadens definitions for religious reform and roots itself in Global South narratives by archiving modes of protest and resistance, the contributions of the communities to liberative religious practices, and the role of faith practices and care in enabling more robust modes of

peacebuilding amidst oppressive legislative violences. I examine the role of identity for interlocutors and actors in the protests in contributing to communal counter-narratives and studies the role of contesting masculinities and femininities in reworking histories of polarization. By reviewing these histories of polarization, the study provides newer lenses to which reform can be approached, specifically with respect to the practice of langar by Sikh farmers, caregiving and worship by Muslim women in Shaheen Bagh, and their significance in challenging the capitalist and masculine authority of a neoliberal Hindutva state. The research takes from the scholarship of legal academics, TWAIL scholars (and their associated metaphors), South Asian scholars, and scholars from underrepresented and exploited communities and regions from the Third World, and critiques citizenship as inherently exclusionary. By doing so, I posit the need for future research and activism to make space for faith practices not only as personal acts of worship but as public and political acts of social, legal, and political transformation.

Crime against women in India

Kanwalpreet Kair, DAV College, Chandigarh (in person)

India is a country that worships goddesses and takes pride in doing so. Yet,girls and women are treated as second rate citizens in the society. Malnourishment, poverty, molestation,exploitation,trafficking and crime against women are a common phenomenon. If women defy patriarchy then they are killed or publicly humiliated. Acid attacks and honour killings are two heinous crimes that are a slap on the Indian society. Women,in some parts of India, are killed by the families or communities if they marry of their own will. Acid is thrown on girls to disfigure them if they reject boys. Muslim women were divorced by their husbands by uttering the word 'talaq'(divorce) thrice and if the couple, later, wanted to unite the women had to spend a night with a stranger depriving them of their dignity and self respect. This paper would be a modest attempt to highlight hate crimes against women and the steps taken by the government to stop such crimes.

Panel 4-3. Solidarity, Activism and Politics of Representation: Women and Media

Cataloguing Solidarities: The Sushant Singh Rajput Case Coverage and Female Celebrity Activisms in India

Devika Misra, OP Jindal Global University (virtual)

During the pandemic, few things captured public and media interest like the untimely death of Bollywood star Sushant Singh did. His alleged suicide began a cycle of media coverage, conspiracy theories as well as an avenue for the reformulation of debates such as merit versus nepotism, insider versus outsider and abused man versus manipulative gold digger woman. Issues of caste, class and gender all seem to find various iterations in the seemingly never ending media cycle amidst calls for justice, solidarity and transformation. Celebrity representation has long been used to amplify worthy causes while generating positive brand value for said celebrities. Evaluating the media coverage for the Sushant Singh case, this paper hopes to untangle the politics of celebrity representation in India and the politics of their activism in three ways. First, it hopes to look at how actress Kangana Ranaut, the spokesperson for 'merit' and talent has used her celebrity to act as a champion for values on which India must develop while enforcing her caste privilege as well as the Hindu nationalist agenda of the BJP. Second, the vilification of actresses like Deepika Padukone, who are 'outsiders' but persecuted for personal solidarities extended to protests in the country against the regime, where she has been branded as immoral to bring her back into the fold of the right kind of responsible celebrity. Finally, the demonising of actress Rhea Chakraborty as the manipulative gold digger who led this moral, upright, son of the soil to death where her identity as a working woman, her sexuality and her ambition were used to punish her for this great fall of man. By untangling these narratives, this paper hopes to unearth the discontinuities in celebrity feminisms and the dissonance in their political solidarities.

Women as Irrational, Passive and Second Class Citizens: Visualising Gender in India's Nuclear Tests

Shreya Singh, University of Queensland (in person)

This article explores how women are depicted in India's nuclear tests and what are the implications of these depictions on Indian identity. I examine the depiction of women in India's May 1974 and May 1998 nuclear tests in the domestic newspapers: The Hindu, Hindustan and Dainik Jagran. Through this paper I show that, first, women are rarely depicted in relation to the nuclear tests. Second, when depicted they are shown as either passive, irrational or as second-class citizens. Third linguistic and regional variations in the gendered depictions have broader implications on Indian identity. I undertake the thematic analysis of women as passive, women as irrational and women as second-

class citizens through representative images from these newspapers. I conclude the paper with how visual politics can provide useful insights into the gendered nature of identity representations.

Women Challenging Political Authorities Through Online Video Skits: The Case of Zimbabwe's Bus Stop TV

Norita Mdege, Geneva, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (in person)

Due to limitations on alternative voices' access to state-controlled traditional media and other conditions that suppress freedom of expression, Zimbabwe has, in recent years, seen a growth in the number of people and organisations using online platforms to voice their views and provide alternatives to state narratives. This paper will focus on Bustop TV, a YouTube channel belonging to one of the most popular comic groups in Zimbabwe, whose two leading performers, both women, often engage with topical issues and how political decisions and policies affect women's lived experiences The paper will analyse how the two women's video skits demonstrate that the private is political through a women's resistance perspective that challenges the global neoliberal practices and humanitarian narratives that seem to privilege narratives of African women as victims, where the concept of 'victim' is often linked to 'lack of agency'. The paper will also demonstrate how representations by the two women challenge official 'truths' and contribute to political discussions by popularising ways of indirectly talking back to authority through, for example, the creative use of language. A combination of Enloe's curious feminism, which focuses on the gendered construction of meaning, and a cultural approach that combines textual and contextual analyses will be used to analyse the skits. This combination of methods will ensure the incorporation of a feminist perspective in the study of videos whose interpretation and appreciation highly depends on the contextual and cultural knowledge of the intended local audience.

Between Choice and Coercion: A Decolonial take on the Complex and Dichotomous Abortion Narratives from India

Priyanka Tripathi

Argha Basu, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Patna (virtual)

While the legal discourse in India stands tall with the introduction of Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) Act in 1971 and its amendment in 2021, the abortion question invites a conflicting narrative. The guiding principle concerning the question of bodily agency and the feminist discourse of employing a focus on abortion in extending liberation for women since the mid-1900s in

the West (Edgington, 2002) finds a nemesis in sex-selective abortion in India. While the MTP ensures a theoretically safe structure for abortion, the Pre-Conception and Pre- Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act, 1994 and its amendment in 2003 aim at eradicating gender bias in its implementation. Unfortunately, the socio-cultural baggage, lack of sensitization and fanatic adherence to tradition allow the illegal practice of prenatal sex determination in considerable parts (both urban and rural) of India a wide berth. The eventual criminalization, harassment and oppression of women who fail to bear a male offspring within an all- encompassing heteronormative patriarchal system problematizes the context further (Nagpal, 2013). Hence, the abortion question in India fundamentally brings up the nuanced and convoluted aspects of the agency of the female body and forced termination of pregnancy. The oeuvre of Indian popular culture productions (Hindi/English) showcases a serious dearth of intervention when it comes to addressing these issues. Anchoring on decolonial feminism and feminist consciousness-raising; and taking liberty with genre and medium fluidity, this presentation investigates the apparently irreconcilable gulf between the two conflicting aspects of abortion in India through several mimetic and non-mimetic works from popular culture. Keywords: Abortion, Agency, Coercion, Popular Culture, India

Argha Basu is currently working as a PhD research scholar in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Patna. He has published with Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction (Taylor & Francis). His area of interest includes Dystopian Fiction, South-Asian Fiction, Feminist Epistemology, and Contemporary FeministTheory. His ORCID iD is https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8795-7117

Panel 4-4. Remapping Gender through Migrant (Im)mobility across Asia

Chair: Seo Yeon Park, Ewha Womans University (in person)
Discussants: Ga Young Chung, UC Davis and Ji-Eun Kim, Ewha Womans University (in person)

Gendered Im/mobility: the experiences of female highly skilled migrants in South Korea

Hee Jung Choi, Jeonbuk National University

This research analyzes gendered im/mobility of female highly skilled migrants from Asian countries working in South Korea and what it means to their lives, drawing on in-depth interviews with female PhD holders in science and engineering field who are married with children. They work and live in Korea alone or with their children while their husbands left Korea. It complicates the common image of highly skilled migrants as ultra-mobile in the context of the development of global knowledge economy. Furthermore, it tries to avoid the binary perspective to consider mobility as positive and immobility as negative. Rather than simply explaining the (spatial) immobility of female highly skilled migrants as the negative result of gendered discrimination, this paper delves into the dynamic mechanism between multiple mobilities such as occupational, economic, and legal (in terms of legal status in the host country) mobility as well as spatial mobility. By doing so, it reveals the tension and negotiation between different identities of these women as highly skilled workers in science and engineering field, married women with children, and migrants from Asian countries to South Korea. This research shows that gender politics in family and home country are the main cause of spatial immobility of these women. On the other hand, spatial immobility can lead to better occupational mobility or legal mobility for these women compared to their husbands who left Korea. However, it also points out the marginalization they experience as migrants and the limits of their mobilities.

Remaking the myth of 'trade warrior': South Korean middle aged men's masculinities and their mobility to the Philippines

Dohye Kim, Duksung Women's University (in person)

This study demonstrates how masculinity shapes transnational mobility by examining the decisionmaking processes of South Korean middle-aged men to relocate to the Philippines in the aftermath of Asian financial crisis. The studies on male migrants and masculinities tended to be bifurcated into either low-skilled migrant workers moving to the Global North to obtain economic power or lone travelers and settlers heading to the Global South to regain virility. Such dichotomy does not fit into the South Korean men who are in their 50s and 60s in that they relocated to the Philippines with their wives and sometimes children in order to retrieve breadwinner position through small-scale businesses. By analyzing how they conceive relocation to the Philippines as the last resort to redeem their hegemonic masculinity, this study reveals that generation as a group of people sharing collective memories and sense of being is the significant factor creating certain forms of transnational mobility. Specifically, this study illustrates how Korean middle aged men's common work history as 'trade warrior' during their youth and their common understanding on their positionality in global racialized gender hierarchy affect their decision making processes and eventually create such mobility. Furthermore, charting how the migrant men struggle to restore their masculine identities after the relocation, this paper highlights the negotiation processes as well as the decision-making.

Gendered and Racialized North Koreanness in the Transnational Place: Female Migrant Labor and Performance at North Korean Restaurants in Asian countries

Jiyeon Lee, Ewha Womans University (in person)

This research analyzes the female migrant labor and their performance at North Korean Restaurants in China and other Asian countries. The number of state-run North Korean restaurants abroad has increased in China and Southeast Asian countries since the 2000s. The North Korean restaurant provides not only the North Korean 'food' but also the 'musical performance', which are conducted by the female service workers from North Korea. The service workers at the North Korean restaurants have been rigorously recruited by the North Korean government among young and upper middle class women in Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. While the female migrant labor at North Korean restaurants is deemed as the forced and exploited labor by the UN and global human right organization, it is actually considered as the precious opportunity for the North Korean young generation to make good money and experience the different culture outside North Korea. Located in big cities or tourist sites in Asian countries, the overseas North Korean restaurants have the foreigners from South Korea and Western countries as well as the local upper class. Even though basic food items are expensive, customers willingly pay for it because they can watch the musical performance of North Korean women workers for free in the metropolitan and vacation sites. South Korean and Western visitors expect to experience 'North Korea' (which is a dangerous or inaccessible state in the world) safely outside North Korea. Encountering North Korean women workers wearing traditional (national) clothes, singing and dancing with North Korean songs, they construct the imagination of gendered and racialized North Koreanness in the transnational place.

Securitizing Mobility and the location of traveling women: the case of education film of the 1980s in South Korea

Jiyoon Kim, Ewha Womans University (in person)

This study examines mobility regulation and discipline that continued in the currents of internationalization, opening, and liberalization during the 1980s through the case of security education film for overseas travelers, a main text of the cultivation education program for the South Korean people going abroad. In its gradual opening of the opportunity for going abroad under the liberalization policy of overseas travel, attending this education session before the departure was an inescapable duty to get the qualification of going abroad in any category of study-abroad, business, visiting relatives, migration, and tourism. By analyzing the contents and production process of two films produced by National Film Production Center in early 1980s, this paper discusses the securitization of imagination of foreign spaces, overseas travel, and mobile subjects as a new concern of the authoritarian nation-state facing the transitional time of immobility to global mobility in (post-) Cold War period. Also, this paper problematizes the gendered representation of overseas

travel in that traveling women often appear as the embodiment of vulnerable and/or dangerous mobile subjects, by drawing upon three types of female characters and their conditions of mobility. On the other side of expanding going abroad by individual citizens, the case of *security education film* demonstrates the persisting regulation and discipline based on Cold War ideology as a shadow of internationalization. Securitization of imagination, a conceptual framework this study suggests, facilitates understanding a conjuncture of overlapping (post-) Cold War socio-cultural history and the history of globalization in South Korea in the 1980s.

Panel 4-5. Gender, War and Memory: Critical Perspectives

Coming of Age within 'Implosion': How can critical IR respond to Afghanistan?

Emily Clifford, University of Exeter (in person)
Luise Bendfeldt, Uppsala Universitet (in person)
Hannah Richards, Cardiff University (in person)

As three female, white, International Relations (IR) postgraduate students based in Europe and navigating our mid-to-late twenties, witnessing the military withdrawal from Afghanistan provoked an overwhelming and deep-seated discomfort. To a large degree, the so-called 'War on Terror' has shaped how we see the 'global'; growing up in the 2000s forced our feminism to negotiate an educative and cultural space centred around Eurocentric notions of 'freedom', 'peace', and the 'West'. Even as critical scholars, the Anglo-American perspective has dominated how we see and know IR. Yet, this latest development further exposed the fallacy behind the framework of 'Western intervention' and, with it, our own failure to sufficiently dislodge 'the master's house'.

In a recent forum for International Politics Review, Maria Eriksson Baaz and Swati Parashar (2021) captured this discomfort by tracing the continued salience of Eurocentrism in postcolonial/decolonial IR. With their proposed 'implosion' of critical IR as a starting point, this paper offers a reflection on the future of feminist teaching and learning in an 'imploded' discipline. Embracing our discomfort and the ever-present possibility of failure, we hope to contribute to the ongoing 'unsettling' of academia from the standpoint of incipient feminist scholars and ceaselessly hopeful early-career teachers. Considering both the radical potential of the classroom and the necessity of caring, collaborative inquiry, we advocate for an IR which is imaginative, relational, messy and accepts its vulnerability - and are optimistically hopeful about whatever this may grow into.

Emily Clifford: I am a final-year PhD student from the University of Exeter, UK. My research problematises the British government's claim to protect West African women in post-trafficking situations. I explore affective, spatial, and temporal registers of protection, mapping how notions of trauma, vulnerability, and home shape the politics of sovereign power.

Politics of Memory After the Liberation War of Bangladesh: Remembering the Birangonas

Kumkum Jaiswal, Yonsei University (in person) Seoyoung Choi, Yonsei University (in person)

During the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971, approximately 200,000 to 400,000 Bangladeshi women were raped by the Pakistani Army and the Bengali and non-Bengali collaborators. After the war, the victims of war-time rape were bestowed the title of Birangona—brave women—by the Bangladesh state. Until 1972, the Birangonas received government and media attention but their voices were silenced under the military regime. After democratization, feminist and human rights activists actively collected testimonies of the Birangonas during the 1990s to support trials of perpetrators of the War in 1971. Despite such efforts, it is only recently that the agency and lived experiences of the Birangonas are being publicized, with increasing demands from the public for social justice for the Birangonas. With the assumption that history is a central field of political struggles, this paper analyzes how subjectivities and discourses have been conflicting over the public memory of the war-time rape during the Liberation War of Bangladesh. We explore how different historical subjectivities were constructed in the process of memorization, re-memorization, and dememorization of the Birangonas over the last fifty years, and how the emergence of such subjectivities in turn shaped and reshaped the collective memories on the war-time rape in the Liberation War of Bangladesh in 1971.

Keeping the War Alive: Politics, Activism, and the Wives of the Missing in Northern Sri Lanka

Prateek Srivastava, University of Cincinnati (in person)

The brutal civil war in Sri Lanka came to an end in May 2009, but victims of systemic breaches and enforced disappearances are still waiting for justice. Wives of the missing continue to be active actors demanding political and social change. Tamil Women dressed in black saris carrying photographs of the missing men, newspaper clippings, copies of police reports, and black flags walk across various cities in northern Sri Lanka multiple times a year, demanding justice while also keeping the 'war' alive, while the Sri Lankan state and army hope to move on and 'forget' their bloody past. While collecting and preserving these documents, photographs, and other artifacts is part of an effort to obtain benefits and seek justice, they are also sites of ritual and memory, and a way to

ensure that the island's brutal past is not forgotten. This study intends to bring forward the voices of Tamil women who are 'keeping the conflict alive' through semi-structured interviews and participant observation of numerous rallies organized by wives of the disappeared in Batticaloa and Mullaitivu (District). What do these protest photos, documents, and newspaper clippings indicate for their political agency and action? Why do the wives of the missing continue to fight the war? This paper contributes to a growing body of work on symbolism in feminist and women's movements, as well as resistance to disappearances and political involvement by wives of the vanished. This paper directly speaks to the subjects of the conference; feminist perspectives on human rights and activism as sites of democratization.

Prateek Srivastava is currently a student of MA in WGSS and a doctoral student in Political Science at the University of Cincinnati. He is interested in women's resistance and its relation to household economies in post-war South Asia, mainly Sri Lanka. He was formerly educated at KU Leuven, Belgium.

Emphatic memorialization in Tomiyama Taeko's and Shimada Yoshiko's creative arts

Anna-Karin Eriksson, Linnaeus University (virtual)

Tomiyama Taeko, a Japanese artist and social critic who sadly passed away last year, pioneered a war memorialization that sides with the subaltern by assuming empathy as her positionality. By interrogating her own nationality as a colonial settler in Manchuria – the first outpost of Japan's imperial expansion – as a raced, gendered and classed structure, she explores themes such as coerced and sexual labor and the impact of war from spatiotemporal vantages that illuminate the limit conditions of Japan's post-war peace. Shimada Yoshiko, another Japanese artist, complements Tomiyama's pioneering war memorialization by extending an invitation to her audience to uncover war memories together. Embodying the continuities through the prewar, wartime and postwar, Shimada centers the roles of women, emphasizing in particular the Japanese 'internal' other. Although once censored and tabooed, Tomiyama and Shimada did make it into prominence on the Japanese art scene and deserve attention for their groundbreaking approaches to empathic memorialization. Their geniuses reside in their innovative ways of combining genuine empathy with fierce critique, together with thorough interrogation of their own complicities in existing oppressive structures. Tomiyama's and Shimada's art work is at once deceptively beautiful and almost scarily accurate in their analyses of our current condition.

Panel 4-6. Publishing Q&A: Meet Feminist Book Series Editors

(editors in attendance in bold)

Ali Bilgic, Synne L Dyvik, Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørv, **Thomas Gregory and Swati Parashar**, <u>Gender</u>, <u>Sexuality and Global Politics</u>, Bristol University Press

J Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, <u>Gender and International Relations</u>, Oxford University Press Laura J Shepherd, <u>Gender and Global Politics</u>, Routledge

shine choi, Cristina Masters, Swati Parashar and Marysia Zalewski, <u>Creative Interventions in Global Politics</u>, Rowman and Littlefield

Panel 5-2. Gender, Representation and Masculinities in Asia

Moderator: Vladimir Tikhonov, Oslo University (in person)

Vladimir Tikhonov is a professor of Korean and East Asian studies at the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, Oslo University. His research focuses on the history of modern ideas in Korea and currently on Korean Communist movement. He has published Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea: The Beginnings (Brill, 2010).

Perceptions of Feminisation of Masculinity in China and South Korea: A Critical Discourse Analysis of State, Media, and Economic Factors Affecting 'Sissy Men'

Haiqing Li, Hong Kong Polytechnic University (virtual)

In 2021, Douyin, the Chinese TikTok, permanently banned the account of user 'Feng Xiaoyi' with 600,000 followers on the grounds that he had been exaggerating and promoting undesirable trends, enticing juveniles to reward him, which was generating a negative social environment. This was in line with new representations of masculinity featuring more feminine or androgynous men, who have increasingly established themselves as a dominant influence in popular Chinese culture. It stems from the traditional Chinese masculinity characterized by gentleness and refinement (wen) incorporating a combination of influences from Korean 'flower boys' (Kkonminam) along with contemporary occidental aesthetics of metrosexuals, reflecting the constant transformation of masculinity in consumer societies.

This study examines discursive strategies employed in the media in Chinese and Korean contexts in the construction of 'real' masculinity and the conveyance of the perceived feminisation of masculinity. This is an emerging ideology that is often presented as a menace to social harmony, yet also as a symbol of trendiness. This paper examines the fluidity of masculine practices and the relationships between the construction, strengthening, and legitimisation of masculinity in societal settings through interviews with 20 men from China and South Korea. This research employs a critical discourse analysis of news reports and interviews.

This paper sheds light on the relationship between linguistic expressions and the ideology and power underlying news articles, and decodes the portrayed representations of masculinity. It concludes by demonstrating how the media constructs male identity and orientates audiences to plausible interpretations, generates 'consensus', and influences public opinion.

"Don't swear at me!": The Representation of Ali Abdul's 'Masculinity' in Squid Game(2021)

Sindhoora Pemmaraju (in person)
Min-ji Kim, Seoul National University (in person)

In this paper we wish to explore the concept of 'masculinity' as embodied by the character of Ali Abdul in the show Squid Game (2021) and the biopolitical framework underlying his characterization. Different kinds of masculinities are portrayed and forced into interaction in the show and Ali occupies an interesting position amidst this for he belongs to a largely underrepresented section of Korean society as a differently-abled, 'illegal' Pakistani migrant labourer. Focusing on the politics of space and body, we argue that the arena becomes a place for oppression and (partial) emancipation for Ali and his 'body' becomes the site where different aspects of his identities contest and negotiate with each other. Drawing on the work of Raewyn Connell, Sara Ahmed, Deleuze and Jasbir Puar, we intend to show that Ali mirrors the image of the 'good migrant laborer' popularised in Korean media. We argue that this 'goodness' is directly related to the ability to be obedient to the paternalistic figure of the Korean man (exemplified by the character of the boss [사장님] and/or older brother [형-동생]) and has a direct impact on one's survival. We examine the tension between 'obedience'

and the 'ability to survive' and also scrutinise the manner in which this 'in-between' (Deleuze) relationship (of Pakistani and South Korean masculinity) exists as a spectacle for the White spectator. We eventually hope to formulate a new understanding of Ali's masculinity as portrayed in Squid Game through the concept of 'obedience,' its relation to Korean and White masculinity and its biopolitical implications.

Sindhoora Pemmaraju has a master's degree in English literature from the University of Delhi and another master's degree in Korean modern literature from Seoul National University. Her research focuses on gender, religion, biopolitics, and food. She has been accepted as a Ph.D. candidate at the School of Languages, Cultures, and Societies at the University of Leeds and is awaiting admission. She is currently working as a translator in Seoul.

Joke or Accountability: Duterte's Misogynistic Speeches and Local News Media

Minju Kwon, Chapman University (in person) Kaye Valdez, Chapman University

President Rodrigo Duterte's misogynistic speeches have faced strong criticisms from the international and domestic communities, but he remains widely popular in the Philippines. Existing literature has discussed Duterte's strategic use of such speeches (Kaul 2021; Parmanand 2020) or women's responses to his misogynistic stance (Gregorio 2020). However, few studies have examined how local media play a role in constructing the information relevant to Duterte's misogynistic behavior. This paper analyzes how the top five local news media have framed Duterte's misogynistic language with a focus on two incidents: (1) his lewd threat to female communist soldiers in February 2018 and (2) his comment on women being unfit for presidency in January 2021. We find that local media tend to omit specific information on his speeches and lower the tone of the speeches despite varying bias levels across the media. Even critics of the government do not pay particular attention to his misogynistic language and attitude, but they rather emphasize his other problematic actions unrelated to women. We argue that the underlying ambivalent sexism in society and the media's ignorance of sexism normalize the ongoing misogynistic behavior by politicians in the Philippines that has ironically ranked high for gender equality (#17 in the 2021 Global Gender Gap Report). This research contributes to feminist media studies by providing insights from a new empirical case study from the Philippines.

The Politics of Recognition and Masculinities in Failan (2001) and He's on Duty (2010)

Ji-Eun Kim, Ewha Womans University (in person)

This study interprets how the movies Failan (2001) and He's on Duty (2010), through Charles Taylor's

Politics of Recognition framework, signify the social divide between migrant workers and the Korean natives. Failan depicts the paper marriage of a Mafia underling, Lee Kang-jae, and the submissive migrant worker, Failan. Although Failan, the migrant, is not recognized by mainstream culture or Kang-jae, she does not take a destructive stance. Similarly, He's on Duty portrays how a native poses as a migrant worker; and understands the vulnerability induced by misrecognition. Taylor posits that "misrecognition" constitutes an "internalized picture of their inferiority" and "can inflict a grievous wound saddling its victims with self-hatred." Failan's recognition removes Lee Kang-jae's misrecognition; Bang Tae-Sik evolves through interaction and recognition from migrant workers. In both films, the reversal of the vertical hierarchical social divide between migrant workers and the Korean natives into a horizontal relationship shows the subversive side of the recognizer and recognized.

Ji-Eun Kim is a researcher at Ewha Womans University. Her primary research interests include gender and technology in nineteenth-century English novels, children's literature, and film studies. (corresponding author: jkim179@gmail.com)

Panel 5-3. Violence and Women's Agency

Moderator: Laura Sjoberg

Laura Sjoberg is British Academy Global Professor of Politics and International Relations and Director of the Gender Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London.

Visibility through Violence. The Emancipatory Potential of Self-Defence in Visual Representations of the YPJ

Massimiliano Masini, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) (in person)

Since the siege imposed on the Kurdish-majority town of Kobanê by the Islamic State in late 2014, images of the combatants of the all-female Women's Protection Units (YPJ) have been the object of competition amongst different views on women's participation in conflict and political mobilisation. The viral circulation and the sensationalisation of the images of the militants have often obscured the centrality of their radical political alignment in their participation in the conflict. At the same time, the gendered juxtaposition with the fighters of Daesh has made them sympathetic to the liberal feminist understanding of women's emancipation as individual citizens of modern, "civilised" nation-states, thus marginalising their specific feminism, its entanglement in the broader transformative project articulated in the region, and its embeddedness in a long history of women's participation in resistance against the oppression of the Kurdish people. I take an approach of visual semiotic to

engage with the digital production of the group and I argue that self-representations of the militants convey an oppositional reading of violence as emancipatory. Taking the perspective of the ideological paradigm at the basis of the experience of the YPJ, I suggest an interpretation of the video content published on the YouTube channel of the YPJ Media Center that reflects this oppositional reading. This, I claim, allows me to contribute to the increasing wealth of literature on the radical project of socio-political transformation articulated in northern Syria, but also to propose a potential approach to digital visual content in radical movements.

Cohabitation with Criminals: Civilian Women's Responses to Mexican Drug Cartels

Minju Kwon, Chapman University Iara Gonzalez-Ascencio, Chapman University (in person)

The violent armed conflicts between drug cartels and the government in Mexico have produced collateral damage to civilian women. Existing studies focused on either women's passive victimization by cartels or their active participation in cartels. However, few studies examined their varying responses between the two extreme poles despite the fact that the majority of women lie in the spectrum between the poles in reality. This paper examines how civilian women indirectly cooperate with drug cartels' violence embedded in Mexican local communities. Using the concept of "everyday cooperation," we argue that women's strategies for surviving in the narco-environment and coexisting with cartels are categorized into four coping mechanisms: disregarding violence, fantasizing narco-cultures, pursuing benefits, and negotiating with cartels. Some women disregard violence by pretending nothing happens, acknowledging the cartels' unwritten rules, and accepting the collusion between the government and cartels. Others fantasize about narco-culture, especially the lifestyles of the buchona (women often involved with narcotraffickers). Some attain economic benefits by receiving cartels' gifts and working under their quotas. There are also those who negotiate with cartels to find disappeared individuals. Original data from autobiographical narrative and semi-structured interviews with respondents from Jalisco, Mexico is collected. As systematic research on local women's daily cooperation with drug cartels in Jalisco, Mexico, this paper contributes to the literature on conflict studies and feminist studies by scrutinizing women's plural responses to massive criminal violence. The findings also encourage the reconsideration of the current situations to better support women suffering from masculine violence in narco-societies.

lara Gonzalez-Ascenciois a student at Chapman University, Orange California.

Gendered and Religious Assumptions in Rehabilitation and Reintegration of ISIS Women Returnees

Helen Stenger, Monash University, Gender, Peace and Security Centre (in person)

Women associated with the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) are returning to their home countries from camps in northern Syria and require prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration. Yet, as feminist security and terrorism scholars have demonstrated rehabilitation and reintegration programmes are often focused on men and neglect women's experiences (Henshaw 2020; Brown 2019). The absence of programmes designed for women is influenced by gender stereotypes around women's peacefulness and their lack of agency. Alongside gender, further intersecting religious dynamics also shape rehabilitation and reintegration practices through, for instance, racial profiling or the trope of associating Muslim men with terrorism (Schmidt 2020). Indeed, rehabilitation and reintegration programmes are often designed and implemented in contexts that value patriarchal norms and are Islamophobic or racist. This paper, thus, explores to what extent practices and programmes to rehabilitate and reintegrate ISIS women returnees are influenced by these underlying and problematic assumptions. I build upon feminist security and terrorism scholarship and draw from interviews with practitioners, policymakers and researchers who have worked with ISIS women returnees across jurisdictions and countries. I argue that intersecting gendered and religious assumptions influence the rehabilitation and reintegration practices of women returnees. This analysis is illustrated with three vignettes on 1) vocational training in rehabilitation programmes; 2) the freedom in the expression of religion and; 3) the stigmatisation of returnees.

Outsourcing Patriarchy in approaches to Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE)

Ann-Kathrin Rothermel, University of Potsdam Megan Kelly, University of Basel (virtual)

In recent years, many Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) programs, which were formed to address radicalization into "violent jihadist" extremism, have begun to incorporate programming to address far-right extremism, which has been publically perceived as a "rising" security threat. In this paper, we critically assess this expansion of P/CVE and its effects on ideas about the "extremist" subject through a focus on masculinities. By focusing on representations of masculinities in twenty influential policy briefs about transnational P/CVE, we uncover both parallels and discrepancies in the construction of the gendered extremist subject in violent jihadist and farright extremisms. Using an intersectional lens, we relate this differentiated treatment of "extremist" masculinities to an underlying dynamic which Grewal has termed "outsourcing patriarchy", a move which aligns patriarchal and misogynist ideas with the Non-West. We argue that through this gendered dynamic, the ways in which extremist subjects are constructed through different racialized notions of masculinities, perpetuate patriarchal and colonial structures. This in turn influences the policies that are thought possible to counter different extremisms. Our analysis shows how outsourcing patriarchy in P/CVE programming is linked to existing critiques of P/CVE as legitimizing

the marginalization of and structural violence against communities of color while also allowing for the decontextualization and depoliticization of white and male supremacist violence. Thus, the article exposes how the outsourcing of patriarchy limits the success of P/CVE in addressing both of these extremisms.

Feminist Rethinking of the Representation of African Women in Peacebuilding

Zainab Olaitan, University of Pretoria (in person)

Are women just victims in times of war and post-conflict peacebuilding? This question is a manifestation of years of research into the participation and underrepresentation of women in peacebuilding. An issue that has motivated conflict and peace studies scholars to understand why women are not actively participating in peace processes, as these peace processes have over the years been dominated by men. Women's underrepresentation in peacebuilding has been ascribed to several factors such as the patriarchal culture of most African societies, the "women-as-victim" narrative and the under-reporting of informal contributions women make through their participation in peacebuilding activities. Importantly, the women as-victim narrative which features in numerous studies is often cited as why women are not participating in post-conflict peacebuilding thereby necessitating the opening question. The question provides a background to evaluate the agency women embody during times of post-conflict peacebuilding. More specifically, to examine the women-as-victims narrative and how that invariably limits the capacity of women. Therefore, this paper intends to use the feminist theory especially radical feminism as a lens to rethink the agency that women embody during peacebuilding in a bid to argue that women are much more than victims.

Zainab Olaitan is a PhD candidate at the University of Pretoria, her research focuses on the impact of gender quotas on the substantive representation of women in Africa. She obtained her first degree in Bachelor of Science (Hons) in Political Sciences with First class honors from the University of Lagos. Zainab completed her second degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics Honors at the University of Cape Town as a 2018 Mandela Rhodes Scholars. She is keenly interested in contributing to research on political thought, gender, conflict and peace studies, African politics, and representation.

Panel 5-4. Negotiating (for) Intersectional Feminist Spaces and Theory

Fighting for Space: Negotiating Autonomy at Home through Public Participation in Social Movements

Devika Misra, OP Jindal Global University (virtual) Sweta Sen, OP Jindal Global University (virtual)

The farmer's movement in India witnessed an unprecedented participation of women farmers, students, and activists. The prominent presence of women in what is arguably considered to be the world's largest protest in recent history, has put spotlight on women's significance and roles in driving social movements. This study is , however, not about the involvement of women in the public sphere; it is about the effect of women participation in social movements and its effect on their private lives. The primary motivation for this project is to test the effective transversal of autonomy from the communal public sphere to the individual, personal one. Through surveys and interviewing women from UP, Haryana, and Punjab, three of the most gender-regressive states in India from where most of the women farmers joined the movement, we endeavored to understand a simple question: has participating in the movement positively affected the women's agency in household decision making? Did it bring about a change in their private and community lives? We specifically focused on the changes in female-agency in the following areas: reproductive autonomy, control of finances (current and future), community space, continuation of political participation, capacity-building, and women – led financial spaces.

Devika Misra is a PhD research scholar at the Centre for US, Canadian and Latin American Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and an Assistant Professor at the Jindal School of International Affairs, OP Jindal Global University.

Dialing for Dollars and Diversity: Public Campaign Financing and Its Effect on Electing More Women and Women of Color

Amy Frieder, Harvard Law School (in person)

Political candidates who are not incumbents are typically required to raise a certain amount of money in order to be considered "viable" among institutional players who endorse and validate candidates. However, a system that encourages measuring candidates by their bank account is a system that works against young people, people of color, women, LGBTQ+ people, and working-class people — marginalized groups that face gender and racial pay gaps. In contrast, candidates who do not face these barriers may be more likely to self-fund, receive institutional support, or enjoy networks of wealthy donors who can contribute large sums of money to political campaigns. This paper explores whether states with public campaign financing programs that increase access to campaign funds elect more women and women of color to their state legislatures. (If accepted to the conference, I will add additional context/content/analysis to the paper to include international examples and perspectives.)

Chasing Shadows: Toward a Theory of Gender and Corruption in Vietnam

Kristy Kelly, Drexel University and Columbia University (in person)

Women's intersectional social, political and economic positions in society shape their experiences with, definitions of, and strategies for dealing with corruption (Bjarnegård, 2006; Dollar et al 2001; Ellis, et al 2006; Seligson 2006; Swamy et al 2001). Nevertheless, the gender and corruption literature tend to ignore or devalue these experiences, and never does it suggest a policy framework for understanding corruption itself as a gendered institution, nor one where women are innovating creative interventions. This paper aims to fill this gap through an ethnographic study of men's and women's shifting relationship to gender equality and anti-corruptions policies, research and programs designed, and how creativity generates culturally relevant responses to increase equality and reduce corruption in Vietnam.

Findings reveal how local women's groups creatively reframe traditional gender and corruption discourses, policies and programs to combat corruption as they work to increase access to and control over land, education, health care, employment, and political participation. Paying attention to the ways age, geographic location, ethnicity, professional affiliation, and other identity markers and locations shape their experiences and creative responses, findings illuminate a new to framework for studying corruption itself as a gendered institution, shaped by transnational connections, and (re)produced in interaction with global development regimes. Findings will also reveal creative solutions and innovative responses – grounded in local experiences – that will be of interest to activists, educators, government leaders, and communities interested in mainstreaming gender into their anti-corruption work.

Can China fill the gap in feminist peace? Imagining China's developmental peace as "beyond the WPS agenda"

Yeonju Jung, Stockholm University (in person)

In response to China's increasing influence in international peace and security today, much attention has been given to China's approach to peacebuilding, so-called developmental peace, that puts a primary emphasis on state-led economic growth as the driver of peace. In contrast to an expanding literature on this concept, feminist analysis of developmental peace is still lacking and limited scholarly attention is given to gender dimensions of it. The lack of gender analysis coalesces with a research gap within feminist theorising of peace, specifically related to the critiques of the WPS agenda on its eurocentrism and "Western" domination. An unsolved conceptual puzzle is how this non-"Western" actor with autocracy and communist political ideology engages with gender equality—a liberal value—and the WPS agenda—a liberal policy framework that brought gender into the realm of international politics.

Against the backdrop, this article attempts to answer the following question: Can China's developmental peace fill the gap in feminist peace by bringing a "beyond the WPS agenda"? It discusses China's potential to better engage with the economic pillar of peacebuilding such as women's economic empowerment—a gap left by liberal peace and the WPS agenda. It moves further onto a debate on whether China can bring a non-"Western" perspective into the WPS agenda. This article makes an academic contribution to two scholarships within IR: feminist peace scholarship and the WPS research by adding a new agenda and analysis focusing on China; and the expanding discussion on China's developmental that is currently lacking a gender perspective.

Panel 5-5. Towards Epistemic Justice and Plurivocal Worlds

Reclaiming Third World Feminism: Serving Epistemic and Transnational Justice

Zehra Arat, University of Connecticut (in person)

As international power differentials marginalize women living in less developed countries – politically, economically, and culturally – women in these countries also tend to lose their voice in feminist circles. This paper intends to tell the story of Third World Feminism; how the incorporation of its critical features into post-colonial, transnational, global or decolonial feminist approaches has erased both the theory's Third World origins and the intellectual contribution of Third World women

to feminist theory and analytical approaches. Drawing attention to Third World feminists' qualms with "Western feminists" in the 1970s and 1980s, the paper illustrates that the intersectionality approach employed by Third World feminists is not only about the compounded discrimination and subjugation experienced by some women, as it is commonly understood today, but it is also about power differentials among women – how women, marginalized due to their gender, can also enjoy privileges due to their class, race, nationality or other status and benefit from, and even contribute to, the marginalization of other women. This project is undertaken with the conviction that only with attention to the power differentials among women (including feminist women) and restoring the name "Third World Feminism," can we establish epistemic justice and move toward achieving transnational justice.

Is Dalit Feminism Domestic?

Whitney Russell, University of Massachusetts Amherst (in person)

Dalit feminism, when discussed in the US, is often talked about as "like" black feminism. It is presumed to have a certain kind of empowerment-based view on an intersection between caste and gender that is similar to how black feminist thinkers theorize difference and conceptualize liberation. Indeed, the existence of an American caste system has a history of being raised and reinterpreted according to various political moments in the United States (the most recent being Isabel Wilkerson's Caste, beloved by Oprah and soon to be a Netflix documentary). And yet American black feminism is not dalit feminism, and dalit feminism is not black feminism. Both are speaking from, through, and about a certain set of social and economic conditions, as well as within a particular understanding of politics altogether. In this paper, I take on ontological approach to my experience as a long-term feminist activist and organizer in the United States on one hand, and my decade-long engagements with a dalit community in India on the other. Rather than attempting to translate differences, I argue that there is something to gain from thinking about different strains of feminist thought as linked to one another, without collapsing them into being "like" one another. Thinking about feminist theorizing as domestic, rather than international or transnational, may open new ways to think about solidarity and coalition that does not depend on presumptions of similarity, or even common ground.

Unlearning western centrism: co-reading plurivocal narrations of feminisms, coloniality, race and migration

Olivia U. Rutazibwa, The London School of Economics and Political Science (in person) Nora Siklodi, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) (in person) Nivi Manchanda, Queen Mary University London In this paper, we offer the contours of a collective reading project aiming at reconceptualising engagements with feminisms, coloniality, race and migration beyond Eurocentrism. We build on our varied disciplinary specialisms (EU/European studies, citizenship, migration & (Black) diaspora studies, human rights and (decolonial/feminist) IR, statebuilding in/and Afghanistan) and positionalities (Hungarian, Indian and Belgian/Rwandan in the UK/continental Europe) to interrogate the extent to which despite our varied minority status in the "West", our own critical, decolonial and Black feminist engagements with the world continue to be shaped by the Eurocentrism and Whiteness of the "Westernised" university. We therefor opt to, rather than centre invariably Westerncentric scholarly attempts at "internationalising", "globalising" or "pluralising" (feminist) issues of international relations, turn to essays and novels from our various vantage points and bring them in conversation with (translated) novels and essays of the Korean and wider (north-)East Asian migrant experience. We offer and narrate a collective reading project and aim to make both methodological and conceptual/thematic contributions to decentred - i.e. plurivocal beyond talking back to the imagined White-Western-Anglosphere - feminist engagements with the themes of coloniality, migration and race. We understand our presentation and discussion of this paper in Seoul as a beginning (for us)/ongoing conversation and invitation for more voices, conceptualisations and narrations, rather than a finalized piece of work.

Nora Siklodi is an Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer with an interest in senses of citizenship and belonging in the migration context.

Racialized Understandings of Koreanness and their Challenges to Hierarchical Nationhood: The National Identity of French Korean Adoptees

Seoyoung Choi, Yonsei University (In person)

This paper explores the relationship of race, ethnicity, and nationalism in Korea through Koreanness as interpreted by transnational Korean adoptees. By examining the case of French Korean adoptees, this paper examines how the category of Koreanness that is assumed to be homogeneous by the Korean nation, is defined in heterogeneous ways, in racialized manners that are constructed within and without Korea, and in relation to the global circulation of the concept of race. Though most literature on transnational Korean adoptees refer to race as an important variable in explaining their racialized identity and transnational adoption, almost no literature discusses in depth how transracial and transnational adoptees understand race in terms of their national identity. Looking at how Koreanness, Asianness, and Whiteness are constructed and interpreted by French Korean adoptees and analyzing the transnational discourses on race that are involved in such process helps not only deconstruct the myth of 'homogeneous and racially unique' Korean nation but also allows a richer discussion on race in the Korean context by revealing the complex discourses on race that are implicated in the idea of Koreanness.

Panel 5-6. Book Launch: Conversations on Feminist Peace by Smith, Sarah, LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security & Keina Yoshida, LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security

Chair: Sarah Smith
Participants:
Henri Myrttinen
Keina Yoshida, LSE Centre for Women, Peace and Security
Margo Okazawa-Rey
Nour Abu-Assab
Nela Porobic Isakovic

This event is a launch for Feminist Conversations on Peace (Bristol University Press, forthcoming July 2022). This edited collection brings together conversations across borders and boundaries which explore plural, intersectional and interdisciplinary concepts of feminist peace. The book includes contributions from a geographically diverse range of scholars, judges, practitioners and activists, and the chapters cut across themes of movement building and resistance and explore the limits of institutionalised peacebuilding. The conversations cover a wide range, including environmental degradation, militarisation, online violence and arms spending, among others. Come join us for this discussion with feminist peace activists and those working on the frontline for peace.

DAY 3

Panel 1-1. On Gender and Development: Trajectories, Challenges, and Prospects (Southeast Asia Hub Plenary)

Moderated by: Bina D'Costa (The Australian National University) and Prime Ragandang III (The Australian National University/Mindanao State University-Iligan)

Participants:

Jinky B Bornales (WHWise: iBLEnDNICE 4 WomEn and Mindanao State University-Iligan) Nery Ronatay (UN Women's Women Peace and Security) Hilton Joyo Aguja, PhD (Mindanao State University-Iligan)

What is the state of advancing women's rights in in the global south? How does conflict affect the gender and development programs in the region? With examples from the Philippines, these are the questions that the opening plenary of the IFJP Conference's Southeast Asia hub will explore. The panel will also discuss the challenges practitioners experience in advancing gender-related programs. Finally, the panel offers the audience a space to reflect on the prospects of gender-related programs from the global south.

Jinky B Bornales (WHWise: iBLEnDNICE 4 WomEn and Mindanao State University-Iligan) is the Project Leader of the WHWise: iBLEnDNICE 4 WomEn. She leads the Gender and Development Center of MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City, where she also served as the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Extension. She has produced a number of papers in international journals. She has actively pursued memberships in international consortiums with researchers in Germany, Japan and Portugal, resulting in student and faculty exchanges in universities abroad. She is instrumental in establishing two innovation facilities in the university, the Technology Business Incubator and FabLab.

Nery Ronatay (UN Women's Women Peace and Security) is the head of the UN Women's Women Peace and Security team in the Philippines. For two decades now, Nery has worked as a capacity builder, facilitator and program specialist in the Philippines, Malawi, Thailand, Cambodia and Myanmar with grassroots communities, CSOs, and the United Nations thematically focusing on conflict transformation, HIV and AIDS, gender, and rights. Recently, he was the Peace and Development Officer of the UN Human Settlement Programme (UN Habitat) in Marawi City, Philippines as part of a team that helps rebuild the city after a devastating five-month siege by a radicalized ISIS-aligned group.

Hilton Joyo Aguja, PhD (Mindanao State University-Iligan) is a Political Science professor at MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in the Philippines. He chairs the University's Technical Working Group for the Gender and Development (GAD) Focal Point System. He is a member of the Philippines' National GAD Resource Pool, a group of experts that has significantly assisted the Philippine Commission on Women in providing GAD-related technical assistance to national government agencies and local government units. He has extensively lectured, researched and published on the GAD matters. He goes through life with a gender lens and infuses gender sensitivity in all facets of human interaction.

Panel 1-2. Book Launch: Feminist Solutions For Ending War

Participants:

Megan MacKenzie, Simon Fraser University Ray Acheson, WILPF Laura Shepherd, University of Sydney Thomas Gregory, University of Auckland Eda Gunaydin, University of Sydney Shweta Singh, South Asian University Cai Wilkinson, Deakin University

How can feminist help end war? This roundtable helps answer this question and features contributing authors to Feminist Solutions for Ending War (Pluto, November 2021). Authors will discuss the unique feminist solutions they develop in their chapters and the broader benefits (and limits) of focusing on solutions and hope. This roundtable will be an opportunity to hear from feminist around the globe sharing insights on how a world without war is possible.

Panel 1-6. In and About: A Feminist Ethic of Care and Academia

Convenor: Dipali Anumol, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (virtual) Chair: Emma Louise Backe, George Washington University

Participants:

Dipali Anumol, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Khushi Singh Rathore, Jawaharlal Nehru University Sinduja Raja, Josef Korbel School Q Manivannan, University of St. Andrews Dipti Tamang, Darjeeling Govt College Laura J. Shepherd, University of Sydney

The global COVID-19 pandemic, increasing democratic back-sliding and rising precarity have laid bare the need to reimagine and reconstitute the role of academia and public scholarship. Our roundtable will engage with the opportunities of integrating and attending to a feminist ethic (and practice) of care within the academy, and its roles, meanings, and consequences for research, teaching, and learning. We consider the importance of a feminist ethic of care not only in research design and process but its growing necessity in our modes of engagement and participation across all stakeholders within and outside academia - faculty, students, peers, mentors, colleagues, partners and interlocutors. We consider the renewed need for action-oriented and inclusive scholarship in global politics, and potential pathways to reimagine scholarship and the role of academia in the upcoming decade. Potential discussion questions for the roundtable include: What does a feminist ethic of care mean to you? How do you practise it? How/where does care feature in your pedagogies? How do caring practices — for and as teachers and scholars of care — alter our understanding of community, power, and politics? How does a feminist ethic of care affect your research process and outputs? How could a feminist ethic of care change engagements and relationships with others in and outside academia? Through these provocations, we attempt to celebrate spaces and practices of caring resistance, and speculate hopeful futures in the discipline of global politics.

Panel 2-1. Intersectionality and Others: Conjunctures and Disjunctures in Feminisms

IR and its Intersectionality Problem: One Discipline, Multiple Lifeworlds

Leena Vastapuu, Swedish Defence University Carrie Reiling, Washington College (virtual)

Intersectionality, a concept developed by U.S. legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw about junctions of race and gender that interact to oppress Black women, has become a key concept in feminist and gender studies and has been taken up in many social science disciplines. In International Relations, however, while some scholars use the term "intersectionality" in their research, little explicit theorizing has been done to contend with the intersecting, confounding, contradictory ways that diverse voices unsettle the IR discipline. Within feminist IR in particular, scholars grapple with how gendered understandings of the world change with geography, coloniality, and racialized identities, though gender remains the main axis of subordination. In fact, the attempts that feminist IR makes to include "diverse" voices does not disturb the colonial foundations of the discipline and does not see, for example, how postcolonial feminism is not homogenous, how class shapes material experiences in the world, and how disability destabilizes the very idea of what it means to be a woman. Much like queer theorizing has pushed feminist IR scholars to consider sexuality and rethink the nuclear family as the fundamental social unit, our intervention is not to argue the "oppression olympics" but to highlight the ways in which feminist IR is a conservative project. We find that a fundamental misunderstanding of diverse ways of being and knowing—ontology and epistemology—plague feminist IR in many of the same ways that feminist IR critiqued the mainstream IR discipline. Ultimately, we propose a path toward an "intersectional IR" that incorporates multiple lifeworlds.

Intersectionality in Feminist Theory: Its Radical Origins and Demand for Transformative Change

Zehra Arat, University of Connecticut (in person)
San Lee, University of Connecticut (virtual)

Intersectionality, a term first used by Crenshaw in 1989, became a buzz word. As its popularity increased, so did the meanings attributed to the term. While some use it interchangeably with "diversity" and treat it as a goal to be achieved, others employ it to draw attention to the impact of compounded discrimination experienced by women who hold multiple subjugated identities. While some consider it to be an analytical approach, others treat it as a potential or developed critical theory. This paper reviews the diverse understandings of the term in feminist literature produced since the 1990s and highlights a particular analytical approach of intersectionality. Going beyond recognizing the diversity of women and acknowledging that gender intersects with other identities, this intersectionality approach also stresses that: (1) intersecting identities result in unique experiences of gender oppression; (2) women may occupy positions of oppression and privilege simultaneously; and (3) due to their privileged status in some areas, women may contribute to or benefit from the subjugation of other women. It then traces the earlier history of this approach not only to European and American Black feminisms of the 1960s and 1970s but also to the nineteenth century, to Marxist feminism that pointed to the different experiences and conflict of interest between the proletariat and bourgeois women. The paper concludes that identifying the radical origins and critical aspects of intersectionality approach would also lead us to employ feminist theories and actions that would address the root causes and structural foundations of subjugation.

Beyond Fence-Sitting: Future of International Feminist Solidarity in Global Development

Gloria Novovic, University of Guelph (in person)

Calls to decolonize global development are interrogating traditional definitions of international solidarity, after 60 years of failure to transfer the agency, resources, and agenda-setting of humanitarian and development efforts towards local actors. Within feminist circles, these interrogations of international solidarity are exposing what Narayan (2019) refers to as "asymmetries of Western feminist location and orbits of concern." To support a more decolonial approach to international feminist solidarity, Western feminists are called to re-position both the location and the scope of their mandates. In addition to a strengthened focus on feminist agendas within Western contexts, these actors are called to support the transformation of global development institutions themselves, given their structural role of perpetuating saviour models of international cooperation. In other words, Western feminists are challenged to choose between profitable agendas of

advancing gender equality abroad and decolonial feminist projects of transforming global development institutions. The article is based on the insight of 193 actors working for multilateral and international bodies, as well as national and local institutions in Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda. The analysis shows limits of existing models of feminist cooperation and outlines ways in which feminist orbits of concern would need to be repositioned for more coherent models of decolonial feminist solidarity.

Is There a Space for Religious Women within Feminism? -some methodological issues in accounting for the experiences of religious women

Haewon Yang, Korea Women's Institute, Ewha Womans University (in person)

Is There a Space for Religious Women within Feminism? -some methodological issues in accounting for the experiences of religious women. As early as the 1980s the implicit equation of the feminist cause with secular liberalism has been problematized as it inadvertently ignored the voices and experiences of religious women (cf. Roper 1989). Aptly argued by the historian Joan W. Scott (2018), secularism read as the guarantor of gender equality is a grave misunderstanding of historical processes wherein secularist discourse continues to compete with its religious other. While women's studies in religion as a field of study has tried to better explain the relation between religion and feminism, it has largely focused on criticizing religion and finding ways to change it to meet the criteria of secular feminism. However, since the 1990s a growing number of women from the religion of Islam has challenged such an approach, arguing for the need to move beyond liberalist stance and to better understand the phenomenon of religion. Against this background, this paper will discuss some of the methodological issues in accounting for the experiences of religious women. While it has been the emblem of feminist methodology to account for the personal as the key site of knowledge production, it typically retreated when that personal touched on religion. This almost an instinctive reaction is arguably the result of the discourse that has equated religion with oppression and backwardness. Drawing on the discussions led by some of the key scholars like Judith Butler, Saba Mahmood, and Joan W. Scott who problematize the ways in which religion is approached, this paper will analyze some of the methodological issues that need to be addressed if we are to give religious women their rightful voice.

Panel 2-2. Crafting New Futures, Recovering Radical

Pasts: Divestment, Radical Politics and Local Wisdoms

Seeing like a revolutionary woman: crafting a radically just future Brigit Poopuu, Tallinn University (in person)

This visual essay engages with five Syrian women artists(-activists)' experience and protest art. These women have radically shifted the lens through which we see and make sense of the Syrian revolution. With their artwork, these women rethink the boundedness of the Syrian revolution. For them, to speak about the Syrian revolution is to speak about the world. For instance, when visualising Syrian refugees, Diala creates an ensemble of images that say 'it started before' and asks us to travel with the question 'how did we reach this point?'. Departing from literatures and movements that centre decolonial love – it matters with whom and where we start our stories – and revolutionary feminism – seeing and enacting the transformations ahead relationally – this visual essay collaboratively re-imagines some of the themes of the Syrian revolution. Starting with these women's artwork troubles the frames through which the Syrian revolution is habitually seen. Importantly, the radical interdependece of our world is affectively felt: diverse positionalities and how they interact with one another are visibilised, a hope of a revolutionary future is crafted by creating resources to see differently, and many oppressive structures are seen together so as to better rally against them.

Medicine Meets Red Feminism: Yi Tŏgyo (1890-1932), a Pioneering Korean Feminist Physician

Vladimir Tikhonov, Oslo University (in person)

This presentation deals with a less-known personage in the early history of Korea's radical women's movement. Yi Tŏgyo, a nurse-turned-doctor, is known as one of the first Japan-educated female physicians in the history of Korea's modern medicine. As a popular doctor, Yi was also in high demand as a writer on medical issues for newspapers and journals, advising her – largely female – readership on everything, from whooping cough to endometritis. Her role as a major populariser of women-oriented medical knowledge in colonial-age Korea still awaits its researcher. At the same time, however, Yi was also active as a socialist feminist, and was understood by the Japanese police to be a part of the underground Korean Communist Party organization. As a feminist radical, she wanted women to be empowered, both socio-economically and in the intimate relationship sphere. She was known as a staunch advocate of women's right to initiate divorce proceedings.

Simultaneously, she made noteworthy attempts to outline her vision of emancipatory intimacy in a

number of essays in periodicals. Many of these essays also shed light on Yi's own married life with Han Wigŏn (1896-1937), one of the most important organizers and theoreticians of Korean Communist movement. This presentation will attempt to look at how Yi's position as medical professional influenced both her vision of radical socio-political and cultural changes and her feminist views, with special emphasis on her attitudes towards both hetero- and homosexual intimacy and married life.

Vladimir Tikhonov is a professor of Korean and East Asian studies at the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, Oslo University. His research focuses on the history of modern ideas in Korea and currently on Korean Communist movement. He has published Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea: The Beginnings (Brill, 2010).

Reimagining the Agency of the Non-Human through an Analysis of Earth's Betrayal

Salma El Refaei, Carleton University (virtual)

Reflecting on McLeod's (2019) analysis of the missing, this project examines the agency of the nonhuman during episodes of mass violence, highlighting the importance of including the nonhuman in research. The paper uses the concept (political) betrayal, as a concept and a lived experience, as its unit of analysis, and the Armenian genocide, as its case study. It analyses how the earth betrayed the Armenian people showing that the earth, amongst other material and non-material non-human agents, is an important analytical category for studying mass violence. It shows how the earth facilitated the Armenian genocide. It betrayed Armenians when the weather made their survival almost impossible, because it was too cold or too hot. It betrayed them when summer came around, the sun shone bright and the massacres did not stop. It continues to betray them a century later as nationalist historians use the weather as an 'excuse' for the death of over 1.5 million Armenians. This project uses Goodbye Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide by Karnig Panian to show how the deportees reflected on the weather during the death marches of 1915. The memoir and the historiographical analysis show that while the earth betrayed the Armenian population by "[holding] on to its beauty as if there was nothing different; as if nothing changed," (Bitek, 100 Days), the earth also reflected Armenian survival and resistance against the totalizing forms of power of nationalist historiographies.

Protests as ecosystems of care: reimagining the future through protests in India

Sinduja Raja, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

Movements for social change in the last few decades, such as Occupy to the Hong Kong pro-Democracy protests or protests against climate change, have centered an articulation of care like never before. Protestors intertwine caring for their communities, the environment, or their fellow protestors with the goals of the movement. At the same time, they also create informal structures and networks within the protest where the protest site is transformed into a makeshift home by creating camps, cooking together and providing sustenance to protestors, creating spaces for childcare and education, etc. My paper argues that these informal structures are an 'ecosystem of care' where care is not only mobilized as a political tool to push forward the demands of the movement, it is also materially translated as an ecosystem to enact small-scale alternative futures outside of hegemonic structures. By focusing on two contemporary protest movements in India, the anti-citizenship law protests and the farmer's protests, I show that though the stated goals of both protests were limited, the protestors in both protests transformed the protest spaces and their community networks into futuristic and radical micro-societies. Through an ecosystem of care, these micro-societies value equity, see community-based mobilization of funds and resources, include large participation and leadership of women and marginalized people, focus on anti-capitalist values within the protest, and stress on their bonds and relationships with their fellow protestors as a community. They not only allow for marginalized protestors to briefly enact radical futures but also transform existing relationships between state and society.

Panel 2-3. Feminism Today in Japan and Korea: In Perspectives of Neoliberalism and Humanities Disciplines

Chair: Suzie Kim, Assistant Professor, University of Mary Washington Discussant: Chungmoo Choi, Associate Professor, UC Irvine, U.S.A.

In South Korea, feminism has been widely drawn attention with the growing voices of women in 2010s, yet it tends to empower the rights of biological women only and further deceitfully turn to a hate speech towards biological men, trans-sexuals, immigrant workers, and political refugees. This exclusivist feminism has been also manifested in Japan in the name of postfeminism. Just as Kikuchi

Natsuno has analyzed the collusion between neoliberalism and postfeminism in Japan, women in the nation only cares about the personal safety and economic stability as a neoliberal subject who constantly develops themselves to catch up with the social changes. Youngran Ko discusses with how supplementary to the category of "Japanese women" does become social minorities in Japan, particularly illiterate Korean female residents and Japanese sex workers near the United States military bases. Yun-Jong Lee delves into how neoliberal homo œconomicusian competitions have turned the feminism discourses into the sex war between misogyny and misandry, especially in South Korea, how it can be related with other East Asian exclusivist feminisms, and if there is any possibility to resolve the exclusivisms. Chungmoo Choi analyses the narratives of "dark tourism" in the new millennial South Korean women's literature and film works by focusing on how they are produced under the tenor of neoliberal or popular feminism. Finally, Suzie Kim analyses Humangarten (2021) by Youngjoo Cho to look deeper into Korean women's care labor in a neoliberalist society and the concept of 'touch' in care work.

How does literature talk about neoliberalism, gender, and memory?

Youngran Ko, Nihon University

In recent years, there has been growing interest in feminism in Japan. In particular, the conditions that gave rise to the concept of "post-feminism" have been spreading, and the situation since the 2000s is now being re-examined. During this period, there has also been an overlap with the pervasion of a Japanese-style neoliberalism, and within feminist discourse, issues of gender and labor are frequently being questioned. However, the concrete discussion of these issues has developed around a central framework of career women, housewives, and temporary workers, and moreover, only "Japanese" women's issues are being made visible. As a result, within the discourse of neoliberalism and gender politics, discussions of minorities within Japan, such as illiterate resident Korean women or women near military bases who do sex work for U.S. soldiers, do not go beyond treating them as simply another framework that is supplementary to the category of "Japanese women." Literary texts written after 2000, and the discourse surrounding them, are no exception. How should we intervene in this type of inward-looking framework? In this presentation, I would like to consider these issues while drawing attention to the voices of minority women who lack literacy. More concretely, the texts I plan to address are the collection Watashi mo jidai no ichibu desu[I, too, am a part of this era] (Nihon hyōronsha, 2019), and Sakiyama Tami's Mienai machi kara shonkanee ga [Folk Song from an Invisible City] (Subaru, May 2006).

Towards Stretchy Feminism: Against the Misogyny and Misandry

Yun-Jong Lee, Sogang University

This paper warns against the sex war between misogynists and misandrists as a backlash of neoliberalist popularization of feminism in South Korea and encourages feminists to stretch their

feminisms to re-intersect with gender, class and race. In the early 2020, there was an incident that one of young South Korean feminists called Rad Fem protested and succeeded in cancelling the admission of a trans-woman into one of prestigious Women's Universities in the nation. Born under the current fad of feminism in South Korea, the Rad Fem shortened from the radical feminists are forced to prohibit themselves from dating, making love, marrying, and birthing to avoid social discrimination of women. Besides, an academic article was published to liken South Korean men to insects in the name of feminism at the end of 2019, which became an issue in the early 2021. These popularized feminisms have propagated a false image of feminism that is equated with misandry in South Korea. However, these misandric feminisms are nothing but a strategy of surviving in a hypercompetitive neoliberalist society by becoming a homo œconomicus who constantly proves oneself as a better ability machine in excluding any potential competitors by discriminating both men and social minorities including LGBTQs, immigrant workers, and political refugees. In this presentation, I would problematize both misogyny and misandry in South Korea by showing how misogynists and misandrists have been waging a sex war that is expanded into a politico-economic war, almost in the form of unconscious civil war, how this kind of war is happening in other East Asian countries, and how it can be resolved by strategically stretching feminism against patriarchy, capitalism and neoimperialism.

Korean Millennial Women's Narratives beyond Dark Tourism

Chungmoo Choi, UC Irvine

In this paper, I am invoking the term dark tourism in a metaphorical sense. The term dark tourism was coined by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley (2000) referring to the tourist attraction of death and disaster such as visiting the death camps in Poland or the sites of natural and/or man-made disasters such as Chernobyl not only to see but also to experience and embody the trauma. South Korean literary canon of the 20th century hadled the readers to such sites of historical trauma and even named such aliterary practice as "memory struggle," a form of cultural activism. However, in the new millennium, new types of women's writings and films began to emerge pursuing quite a diverse array of issues. Not only are they distinct from those of the previous generation(s) in terms of their subject matters and stylistic experiments. These writers and filmmakers are also pursuing and examining a wide range of philosophical, social and ethical issues beyond conventional feminist concerns, while a few produce what may be categorized as postfeminist chik lit. I will examine in this paper novels by Bae Suah, Kim Ae-ran and Chong Yi-hyon-and, if space permits, –films by Kim Bora and Shin Su-won in an attempt to diagnose this emerging new phenomenon whether it may be post-, neoliberal or popular feminism.

Empowering Women: Visual Liberation of Care Work and the Concept of Touch in Contemporary Korean Art

Suzie Kim, University of Mary Washington

The inequality between men and women is most vividly reflected in the patrilineal family tree system deeply rooted in Korea. As Heidi Hartmann states, the material base upon which patriarchy relies on is men's control over women's labor power. Women's labor power remains as being care work of children, husband, and elderly people in the household, which can be understood as 'nonmarket work' or the work of 'social reproduction.' Korean women typically spend excessively more time on this care labor than men. In a monogamous heterosexual marriage in Korea, women, especially middle-aged women (ajumma), spend an important part of their day on meeting the expectations of their domestic and reproductive roles, causing discriminatory social customs and stereotyped gender roles in a neoliberalist society. This paper examines Humangarten (2021) and Human Beings Don't Spring (2021), an installation artwork and performance by Korean Contemporary artist Youngjoo Cho (b. 1978). By presenting abstract forms of varied locations where care work happens, such as nursing homes or hospitals, Cho imposes her strategic play of representing the issue of women's care labor and demonstrates a theoretical approach to the concept of 'touch' by using soft materials that are used in households to protect children and in nursing homes for seniors.

Panel 2-4. Conservation and Shift in Politics of Hatred

Chair: TBC

Discussants: Jiyeon Lee, Ewha Womans University

Byoungjin Goh, Ewha Womans University

"Don't Discriminate Ex-Gays!":

The Formation of "the Ex-Gay Campaign" by the Korean Conservative Christians and Its Paradoxes

Boo Young, Ewha Womans University

This study focuses on "the ex-gay movement", which started to shape its form in the 2010s in Korea. Now that the Western concept of human rights has been universally accepted, conservative Christians try to remain their privileged selves by using the myth of ex-gays. Compared with previous anti-gay groups, the ex-gay group packages itself as sophisticated and sensitive to continue to be the privileged. In addition, while pretending to practice social justice, it actively appropriates the logic of the queer movement and recontextualizes the meaning of "rights" and "equality". Such actions set the foundation to generate commercial profits and expand their scope of activity beyond religion. The ex-gay group made their "ex/gay" concept stable by removing and evading conflicts and contradictions in their movement. Overall, the ex-gay discourse is not a newly-established, but a

reproduction and transformation of the existing heterosexual centering/dichotomous ideology of previous anti-gay groups. Ultimately, the ex-gay campaign is a part of the political plan to restore the status as a powerful institute, which is currently in crisis, through returning to heterosexual gender norm narratives. This research aimed to capture contradictions in "the ex-gay movement" and reveal the structure of the ideology surrounding it in the context of a confluence of social factors.

The Mechanism of Korean TERFs' Empowerment in Politics of Hatred –Focusing on the Justification for Transphobia by employing the International Context

Jieun Kim, Ewha Womans University

This study argues that the gathering of Korean TERFs(Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists) as political forces of hatred emerged not only through 'domestic' events, but also through positioning themselves in the international context to justify hatred against transgender.

TERFs in Korea began to appear after 2015 and became more strengthened through an incident in February 2020 that obstructed a trans woman from enrolling in a women's university. Those who experienced this 'politics of repelling' were also actively involved in the interruption to online Queer Parade in June 2020. Throughout the incidents, they claimed that feminist politics and queer politics are impossible to reconcile. This paper urges to focus on the international drives which instigate the phenomenon. For example, Korean TERFs argue that 'mainstream Western feminism' has failed due to transgender politics and emphasize that Korean feminism must not repeat the same failure. Meanwhile, in 2021, 'Korea Branch' of 'Women's Human Rights Campaign(WHRC)', which has stated that it only values the rights of 'biological women,' was established. The international branches of WHRC, which set biological women and transgender in dichotomous frames, constantly reproduce hatred against trans through social media networks. Thus, this paper analyzes (1) the political positions of Korean TERFs constituted by representing 'mainstream Western feminism' in a specific way, (2) the aspects of encounters between Korean TERFs and 'international organizations for biological women's rights' in other countries, (3) and the ways that TERFs across the borders resonate with conservatives in transnational anti-gender campaigns.

Japanese Extreme Right-Wingers' Appropriation of Human Rights Rhetoric against the Comfort Women and Its U.S.-Centrism

Hye-binn Kim, Ewha Womans University

This work examines the context in which Japanese extreme right-wingers appropriated the concept of human rights to deny the comfort women and power dynamics that lie within it. The right-wingers have invested tremendous efforts into earning the international recognition that Japanese nation and people are actual victims of 'human rights' abuse in the comfort women issue. They argue that the false history fabricated by the comfort women survivors and activists prompted international

hatred against Japan and its people. As a result, innocent Japanese living abroad, especially children, are faced with hate speech, bullying, and defamation.

The right-wingers' efforts to appeal Japan's victimhood to the international society based on the human rights rhetoric began in 2013, when the City of Glendale in California decided to establish the Peace Monument – a statue to memorialize the comfort women. In order to stop the establishment, they filed a lawsuit against the City, assuming its political and legal system without questions and thus giving the country the power to distinguish victims from perpetuators based on its own perspectives of human rights. For revealing the discrepancies of the right-wingers' rhetoric and strategies, however, the comfort women issue needs to step outside the U.S.-centered human rights discourse.

What kind of "Dongpo" can be a Korean?: Focusing on the Comparison of Korean-Chinese and Goryeoin

Yeseul Jeong, Ewha Womans University

In Korean society, where citizenship is differentially granted by dividing into citizen and non-citizens based on nationality, "Dongpo (Korean Compatriot)" is a significant word composed of Koreans and foreigners. Dongpo, which literally means "born in the same womb," emphasizes Korean descent and has united citizens and non-citizens into a contradictory group. In particular, the Foreign Nationality Compatriots (FNC) residing in Korea are on the borderline between Koreans and foreigners. Paying attention to the contradictions of Dongpo, this study aims to analyze the mechanism by comparing the process of categorizing Korean-Chinese and Goryeoin into Koreans and foreigners. Currently, there is a cognitive tendency among Koreans that Korean-Chinese should be excluded as foreigners, that is, non-citizens, and Goryeoin should be embraced as Koreans, namely, citizens. "Koreanness," a requirement for Dongpo to become a citizen, especially appeals to history, and in the case of Korean-Chinese and Goryeoin, it is closely related to the history of the independence movement against Japanese colonial rule. However, the return migration of those accelerated after the post-Cold War regime was a reward for the history, but it was also a deterritorial economic strategy in the neoliberal era. Their Koreanness is constantly challenged by economic usefulness rather than historical stories in the discourse of the economic crisis. The boundaries between Koreans and foreigners across them are being adjusted according to the expected usefulness, and nationalism, racism, and sexism play a major role in the coordination mechanism. On the other hand, this adjustment process proves that the recognition of them is not absolute, and also shows the possibility of resistance to hate politics targeting FNC.

Panel 2-5. Racing the Korean Imaginary: Gender and the

Making of Race in South Korea (Roundtable)

Chair: Sohoon Yi, Kyoungpook National University (in person)

Despite its deep-seated myth of monoethnic nationhood, South Korea's recent two decades have seen the challenges to the fantasy of homogeneity. With the increased influx and efflux of the population in and out of the border in the globalized era, the monoethnic and monocultural fantasy has encountered new entanglements, compelling the need for reevaluation of the country's deep-seated racial hierarchies. South Korea's rhetorical push for "multiculturalism" in policymaking, media representation, and education in response to the country's multiethnic and multiracial transformation in the twenty-first century has rather reinforced the myth of homogeneity by naturalizing the racialized boundaries among people from different backgrounds.

This proposed panel is a rare endeavor to discuss the topics of race and racialization in the South Korean context from the perspective of Asian studies. While there has been ample discussion about race in Korean American and Asian American studies, most of these approaches are rooted in America's local context of race/ethnicity and migration studies. Meanwhile, similar attempts to conceptualize the process of racialization and the making of race in Korean studies has been hardly seen. The panel's five essays explore diverse social and political issues that stem from the South Korean experience of race through the cross-cutting theme of gender.

The "mixed-blood" (honhyŏl) children in Cold War South Korea whom Inga Kim Diederich's essay examines were thought of as a threat to the postcolonial country's normative "pure-blood" national subject construction. While Diederich's study looks into serological, physiognomic, and pathological studies that were conducted to define legible and scientific racial categories in South Korea's history, Sunhye Kim's study on the in vitro fertilization (IVF) technology in relation to pure-bloodism also sheds light on the racialized use of reproductive science and technology of late that serves to protect the conventional paternalistic family and gender norms.

The last three essays focus more on the issues of discourse and representation in the collective racial imagination of the others. Ga Young Chung and Hee Jung Choi's study shows that military service is seen as an opportunity for some young mixed-race Korean males who were born to "multicultural" families to demonstrate their masculinity and worthiness for citizenship. Han Sang Kim investigates the coverage of the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest in the South Korean media at the time to trace the formation of collective victimhood among South Koreans and discusses the rise of masculinist self-awareness in the discourse of 'roof Koreans' that was resummoned recently during the BLM movement. Sohoon Yi examines the notion of "Europe" as an imagined locus of Islam's terrorization and violation in petitions against Islam and Muslims submitted to the online portal managed by the South Korean President's Office (Chungwadae). She argues that Islamophobia in South Korea is a dynamic process involving socio-temporally specific import of anti-refugee

sentiments from the "West" and imagined sympathy with "European victims". Together, the six essays paint a vivid and poignant picture of the way in which race is constructed in the South Korean context over the course of history and at present and the central role of gender in shaping the multifaceted force of racialization.

Purifying Blood: Scientific Surveys and Medical Definitions of "Mixed Blood" Koreans

Inga Kim Diederich, Colby College Discussant: Soyoung Suh, Dartmouth College

This paper examines the medico-scientific construction of "mixed-blood" as a legible racial category in Cold War South Korea to understand how scientists and doctors worked to create a normative "pure-blood" national subject on the one hand, while marginalizing racially and sexually "impurebloods" on the other. Born from the post-war US military occupation of South Korea, Amerasian "mixed-blood (honhyŏl)" children threatened a postcolonial commitment to ethnic homogeneity that was championed by scientists intent on isolating "Korean blood" by biologically defining, medically pathologizing, and legally disowning "mixed-bloods." "Purifying Blood" explores the interconnected racial projects of making "Koreans" and "mixed-Koreans" during the Cold War decades in which American military personnel and their progeny transformed from a temporary exigency to a permanent fixture on the peninsula. By concentrating on medico-scientific experiments and surveys conducted on Amerasian children at orphanages, segregated "mixedblood" schools, and criminal detention centers, it demonstrates how serological, physiognomic, and pathological studies worked in concert with legal rubrics of citizenship and national belonging to define and exclude these proximate racial others from the putatively homogenous national body. In so doing, it integrates and expands on scholarship in Korean Studies and STMS that have respectively illuminated the rise of ethnonationalism in modern Korean identity and the role of race science in postcolonial nation-building. A mixed-race-centered narrative of South Korea's Cold War pursuit of scientific modernity reveals how pathologizing "mixed-bloods" proliferated newly biologized understandings of South Korea as a "pure-blood" nation that continue to resonate in state policies and personal relations today.

Eggs and Sperm from Others: Reproduction and Racialization in South Korea

Sunhye Kim, Ewha Womans University

Discussant: So-Rim Lee, University of Pennsylvania

This paper examines how the concepts of pure-bloodism and mononationalism have been challenged and reconstructed in the use of third-party reproduction in South Korea. Since the first in vitro fertilization (IVF) baby was born in 1985 in South Korea, IVF technology has become widely accepted as a normalized medical intervention to overcome infertility. While the assisted

reproduction was considered morally problematic when it was introduced in the mid-1980s, the use of IVF increased rapidly after the 2000s along with the governmental support to solve the low fertility rate trend. As a result, the number of IVF babies represented over 10% of the total births in 2021. The routinization of IVF also shows that the increasing use of third-party reproduction via donated eggs and sperm. However, since conceiving a baby using donated eggs or sperm could disrupt the "normal family" ideology and patriarchal family system, the existing laws and policies related to third-party reproduction tend to focus on protecting conventional family norms. Furthermore, the different regulations regarding donated eggs and sperm represent paternalistic familism and gender norms. By analyzing the existing legal and bioethics discourses related to third-party reproduction, such as the Ethical Guidelines for ARTs by the Korean Society of Obstetrics and Gynecology (1985-2020), Ethical Declaration of Artificial Conception(1993), Bioethics and Safety Act (2005), and other bills related to third-party reproduction, this paper discusses how the concepts of pure-bloodism and mononationalism have reinforced the reproductive/race politics in South Korea.

(Un)Making Citizenship: The Racialized and Gendered Logic of Enlisting "Damunwha" Soldiers in South Korea

Ga Young Chung, UC Davis & Hee Jung Choi, Jeonbuk National University

Discussant: TBC

This study examines how the cultural citizenship of mixed-race Korean males born to international couples is contested and reassembled through military service. It was not until 2010 that the Military Service Act removed a clause exempting mixed-race Korean men from conscription (Art 65 of the Military Service Law and Art 136 of the Military Service Law Enforcement Decree). Expanding the scope of military recruitment in order to fill shortages resulting from decreases in population, the Ministry of National Defense also revised the oath of enlistment by striking references to racial purity (minjok) in the context of citizenship. For some young mixed-race males and their parents, enlistment was seen as a way to demonstrate their masculinity and worthiness for citizenship, traits that were often questioned because of their racial otherness, despite their Korean nationality and the fact that they often grew up in Korea. Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis and ethnographic research on mixed-race Korean males who served in the military between 2012 and 2022, this study analyzes the experiences of mixed-raced draftees and the various meanings of military service, both in their own lives and in the context of South Korean society, where they were considered military resources that were associated with potential problems such as social discrimination and maladjustment. Engaging with critical race theory and Asian critical theory, this study interrogates the racialized and gendered logic of citizenship and its relationship to military service for the mixedrace children of "multicultural families" within the larger historical context of militarized modernity in nationalist South Korea.

The Collective Memory of Los Angeles 1992 in South Korea

Han Sang Kim, Ajou University

Discussant: Jin-Kyung Lee, UC San Diego

When a protest to support the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement was organized in Seoul in the summer of 2020, not a few commentators on South Korea's online communities expressed their cynicism about the movement, pointing to the age-old mistrust and discord between Black and Asian American communities. While some referred to the recent hate crimes conducted against Asians after the coronavirus outbreak, many others summoned the memory of the 1992 Los Angeles riots. The fact that many Korean American-owned stores had been looted and damaged during the riots was brought to notice by these commentators as an evidential basis for the uselessness of Koreans' solidarity with the BLM movement.

This paper attempts to narrativize the ways in which the racial tensions between Black and Korean Americans in Los Angeles 1992 have been collectively remembered in South Korea. It first investigates the news reports in the South Korean media right at the time of the riots to trace the discursive construction of this historic event at the early stage of the discourse. Then, the paper analyzes more recently published materials in South Korea that discuss the 1992 Los Angeles riots at the time of the 2020 BLM movement. In so doing, the paper will examine the role of the collective memory of Los Angeles 1992 in the South Korean public's current attitude toward race issues. The images of the so-called 'roof Koreans,' Korean-American shopkeepers who kept watching with rifles in hand on the rooftop of their buildings during the 1992 riot, were resummoned during the BLM movement and used as a symbol of ideal citizens who could protect their neighborhood with their military training experience back in their home country, South Korea. This collective memorization of roof Koreans as military veterans of the ROK Army served to raise the masculine self-esteem of South Korean males in comparison to their male counterparts in the States, especially both Whites and Blacks, in their imagined racial hierarchy during the time when the hierarchy was questioned and challenged.

Imaginations of Europe and the Multi-Scalar Construction of Islamophobia in South Korea

Sohoon Yi, Kyungpook National University

Discussant: TBC

Explicit expressions of Islamophobia have entered the public sphere in South Korea in the last three years after a sudden arrival of asylum seekers and the establishment of Christian far-right political parties running on the platform of anti-Islamic sentiments. However, the number of Muslim migrants is only a small fraction and the number of Korean nationals who practice Islam is negligible. Thus, strong expressions of Islamophobia are a curious social phenomenon comparable to "Islamophobia

without Muslims" observed in some Eastern European countries. This paper examines the construction of Islamophobia in South Korea by analyzing petitions against Islam and Muslims submitted to the online portal managed by the South Korean President's Office (*Chungwadae*). The analysis has found profound articulation of the notion of "Europe" in localized expressions of Islamophobia in South Korea and thus focuses on its imaginative and inventive qualities that imagine terrorisation and violation of Europe by Islam and the resemblance between far-right discourses in Europe and South Korea. This paper engages with critical race theory to analyze whiteness manifested in racism against POC (people of color) by POC. In doing so, Islamophobia is analyzed neither as a domestic product nor an imported social phenomenon but as a transnational, multiscalar social construct found at the dynamic intersection of tropes of race, gender and class in multiple social contexts.

Panel 2-6. Re-reading Colonialism, Feminist Activism and the State

Witch hunts, Colonization/Coloniality in Latin America and Capitalist Modernity in the 16th and 17th centuries: Dialogues Between Silvia Federici and Aníbal Quijano

Fernanda Isaac, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP) (virtual)

Through this research, we seek to reflect around two specific historical events, which present moments of coexistence, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: (i) the witch hunts in early modern Europe and (ii) the processes of European colonization and coloniality initiated in Latin America. To this end, feminist and decolonial epistemologies will be resumed, with centrality to the works of Aníbal Quijano and Silvia Federici, which discuss – in different degrees and dimensions – the relevance of the wageless work – whether domestic, reproductive, slave and/or servile – to primitive capitalist accumulation. Methodologically, the concepts of "gender", "race" and "class" will be used as central analytical categories in order to identify – through an intersectional study – how such social markers affect each subject differently. Moreover, it is further questioned how the transformation of the idea of "nature" – in the delimited historical period – allowed it to be

dominated and exploited by the capitalist mode of production, once interpreted as a "resource". It constitutes, therefore, an attempt to construct another reading/genealogy of the initial moments of modern capitalism – thinking from its international dimension – in which converged the oppression suffered by european women, especially during the witch hunts, as well as the domination and exploitation directed at afrodiasporic, afro-descendant and indigenous ethnic minorities in newly colonized Latin America. In a statement, we seek to investigate the hypothesis that the historical phenomena evaluated served as a condition of possibility for the establishment of a new modern/colonial, capitalist, patriarchal and anthropocentric standard of world power.

Feminization of the Indian Left: Struggles in and Survival of the Women Activist Spaces

Aswathi. A Nair, Jesus & Mary College, University of Delhi (in person)

The female proletariat of the traditional Marxist variety was always caught up in myriad contradictions. Even when she was called on to move towards emancipation through escaping the confines of home by going out to work, competition with the male labour power at the work space imposed limits on that emancipation. Thus, while traditional Marxism, both in theory and practice, did rightly acknowledge subjugation of women as a natural necessity of the capitalist order, it faltered in its instrumentalist prioritization of class struggle over other struggles of identity, including gender. Such compartmentalization is not tenable and in fact is counterproductive to any transformative politics. We see the above being articulated in activist spaces within the left movements in India through slogans such as "no revolution without women" being followed by the addendum "no liberation of women without revolution". There is thus a not so subtle implication of how the women's questions have to wait for the larger cause of revolution. A true democratization of the different left activist spaces, everywhere, would only be realistically possible if the struggle against patriarchy is seen integral to the struggle for revolutionary social transformation. In the absence of such an understanding, the activist spaces routinely consider any emphasis on the gender question (beyond a 'tolerable' limit) as "distractions". This often ends up bringing even the radical left discourse eerily closer to the right discourse as they brand such "distractions" as products of "bourgeois" / "imperialist" / "western" influences. The paper wishes to emphasize on how patriarchy as a spectre has continued to haunt the left activist spaces in the country and how it has in turn devalued the individual political agency of women activists.

Legacies of State Feminism: The Limitations of Modern-State Building Projects on Understanding Women's Experiences in Egypt and Iran

Parichehr Kazemi, University of Oregon (virtual)

Contemporary theorisations of feminism in the Middle East primarily entail an analysis of Women and Islam, within the realm of state power. This collapses women's relationships to the state along gender lines, limiting both our understanding of state power and the broader dimensions of women's experiences and oppression. In this paper, we take Iran and Egypt as exemplary cases of state-directed feminism - the direct result of modern state-building projects - that limited how women's identities were constructed and understood. By focusing narrowly on the state's relationship to gender, other dimensions of state power related to class, race, ethnicity, and religion, which also contribute to women's oppression, are invisibilized. In this regard, we question the legacies of state feminism in shaping our understandings of feminism and women's experiences in the context of the Middle East. How has the analysis of state feminism been limited to thinking about the gendered relationship between the state and 'women'? We revisit the literature on state feminism in Iran and Egypt through an intersectional lens to offer an alternative reading of the state's relationship to women beyond their association to patriarchy and Islam. We argue that an intersectional analysis of state feminism that accounts for the material, racial, ethnic and religious dimensions of identity enables us to reconceptualize the ambitions of modern state-building projects towards women.

The state anti-feminist backlash and feminist resistance in Russia

Anna Kuteleva, HSE University (in person)

In the context of the new rivalry between Putin's regime and the West, the distinction between "us" and "them" created through Russian official discourses of nationhood has become gendered. Putin's regime uses heteronationalism as an instrument of identity-building and galvanizes hegemonic masculinity narratives to strengthen its positions vis-à-vis the West both internally and externally. "Traditional values" promoted by Putin's regime present a vague and contradictory notion of shared moral foundations, requiring simultaneously a universal acceptance of a set of norms and an inwardlooking, nationalistic, and defensive nativism. Against this backdrop, Russian feminists encounter challenges when attempting to initiate political changes and encourage a broader acceptance of feminist ideas. Yet, as Putin's regime is becoming more aggressive, Russian feminism evolves into an increasingly visible and significant political movement. How do Russian feminists react to the masculinization of Russian politics and militarization? To answer this question, the paper examines the state anti-feminist backlash and feminist resistance through the prism of ontological (in)securities. Drawing on "thick" multimodal qualitative case studies, it identifies and examines diverse strategies of agency and resilience employed by different feminist groups and individual activists in Russia after 2014 and, specifically, feminist anti-war activism in the wake of Russian aggression towards Ukraine in 2022.

Panel 3-1. Transformative Methodologies: The academe beyond Knowledge Production (Southeast Asia Hub Plenary Roundtable)

Moderated by: Mary Koren Witting Acuesa (Northern Bukidnon Community College) and **Septrin Calamba** (Deaken University/Mindanao State Uniersity-Iligan)

Participants:

Catherine Roween Chico-Almaden, Northern Bukidnon State College Lynrose Jane D Genon, Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT) Dr Nassef Manabilang Adiong

Primitivo III Cabanes Ragandang, Australian National University and Mindanao State University-Iligan

What role does the academe play in helping address social issues? How does pure knowledge production evolve? This panel explores the experiences of scholars-practitioners on how their scholarships are geared towards addressing social issues. It highlights how transformative approaches in research pull us the way we create knowledge: that beyond knowledge production and theory testing, the academe has the role of proactively engaging with the community they study. The panel offers the audience a space to reflect on the research methodologies we employ and the research's utility in the society we work. Panellists brings their experiences as scholars-practitioners working on youth and women inclusion, community engagement, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Catherine Roween Chico-Almaden is currently the College President of the Northern Bukidnon State College. She earned an undergraduate degree in Bachelor of Science in Economics major in Development Economics, Master of Arts in Economics and PhD in Development Studies major in Economics and Public Policy. She has completed over 20 research projects funded by national and international organizations, implemented locally and internationally, in multidisciplinary and multi-sectoral groups.

She has also produced several monographs and books and over 15 research articles published in international referred journals indexed in the ISI-World of Science and Scopus.

Lynrose Jane D Genon is currently a Faculty Member at the Department of English of Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT). She is also a member of the Executive Council of Young Women + Leaders for Peace-Philippines. Her work focuses on Youth Leadership, Education, and Peace.

Dr Nassef Manabilang Adiong is the founder of Co-IRIS (International Relations and Islamic Studies Research Cohort), PHISO (Philippine International Studies Organization), and DSRN (Decolonial Studies Research Network). He works on interdisciplinary research between Islam and International Relations and explores research studies on various policy, legal and legislative topics about the Bangsamoro communities while he heads the Policy Research and Legal Services (PRLS) of the Bangsamoro Parliament in the Bangsamoro autonomous region in the Philippines.

Primitivo III Cabanes Ragandang is currently doing a PhD at the Australian National University, exploring the intergenerational intersect of memory and resilience in an ayóm-ayóm political order. Since 2017, he has served as an Assistant Professor at the Political Science Department of Mindanao State University-Iligan. In 2020, he co-founded Seeds for Mindanao's Advocacy and Youth Leadership, a youth-led organisation supported by the UN Mission to ASEAN. In 2021, he published his article entitled, "What are they writing for? Peace research as an impermeable metropole," highlighting his experiences as a practitioner-turned-scholar from the Philippines.

Panel 3-2. Women of the Global South: Re-mapping Knowledge in Practice (Highlight)

Moderator: Kate Macfarlane, Charles Darwin University

Women are diverse and dynamic actors in conflict, and peace and security contexts that challenge simplistic stereotypes of their victimhood status. Currently, existing Feminist focused academic and policy work is largely dominated by a Global North perspective. Women's everyday experiences of conflict, peace and security at the intersection of gender, class, race, and ethnicity in the Global South brings valuable insights into their identity and agency across diverse contexts. This panel brings together established and emerging scholars that, in the spirit of the Feminist approach,

account for subjects and disciplinary silences evident in IR through a 're-mapping' of knowledge by utilising diverse methods. The panel profiles the longer-term experiences of women from marginalised groups in Mexico, Peru, Nepal, Philippines, and Sri Lanka in conflict, post-conflict, and transitional justice contexts to demonstrate that the identity of being a woman is complex in relation to their interaction with different social, political and economic processes, which evolve and change over time. The experiences captured in this panel are unified by a common thread of re-mapping knowledge in theory and practice. Women's transformative role is evident in challenging inequalities and in building peace in the Global South. The panel will reflect on how this knowledge can influence different policy and national contexts.

Advancing a Relational Approach to the Study of Girl Child Soldiers in Sri Lanka

Kate Macfarlane , Charles Darwin University

Existing research scholarship on girl child soldiers highlights the importance of challenging a boy centric account of child soldiering. However, the study of girl child soldiers requires a critical reflection of the label 'girl child soldier' itself. Current academic research and policy narratives on child soldiers rely on a neat, conceptual distinction between 'child' and 'adult' categories, including 'child soldier' and 'ex-combatant'. The distinction is not always evident in the lived experiences of girl child soldiers. It is also an identity that is mobilised by different actors with different political, social, and economic implications for an individual. This paper reflects on the reintegration experiences of former girl child soldiers and female ex-combatants, who were recruited to the LTTE throughout the almost thirty-year civil war in Sri Lanka. A total of 40 interviews were conducted in Sri Lanka from January to May 2018. In Sri Lanka's post conflict setting, former girl child soldiers face extreme insecurity in relation to the militarised state. However, the complex social and political challenges that they face relates to both their former status as child soldiers and as a Tamil woman. This paper, therefore, advances a relational approach that incorporates both the 'girl' and 'woman' in the study of girl child soldiering experiences. This provides a more complete analysis of the different vulnerabilities that girls face as they become women, which is shaped by their marriage status, caste, ethnicity, social-economic status, family protection, and interaction with government authorities.

Testimonies on sexual violence from the Peruvian truth commission, women's bodies and children born

of violence

Ana Alonso, Mexico

After the armed conflict between Shining Path, MRTA and the Peruvian state during the second half of the twentieth century, the creation of a Truth Commission was considered a necessary step towards democratic transition. The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (PTRC) became the institution where the politics of memory operated. In this institution, the legitimate stories, and conceptual boundaries between victim and perpetrator were established. In this process, officials used survivors' testimonies, but only the ones that met a particular narrative of sexual violence were officially used. Thus, officials interfered and constructed the truth commission's memories. This presentation will focus on men and women's testimonies about children born of violence, and the gap that exists between their testimonies and the final PTRC report. This presentation considers the implication of this gap and argues that only a particular representation of children born of violence was used for instrumental reasons. Secondly, an analysis of the testimonies and material produced by the PTRC was constructed upon a specific and instrumental idea of 'the victim' (a woman, poor, uneducated, non-Spanish speaker, peasant, apolitical, defenceless and with an abandoned child). Tis narrative limited the possible understanding of a more complex phenomenon that women and men told to the PTRC about the conflict that cannot neatly fit the existing mechanisms of transitional justice.

Strategic Silences and Epistemic Resistance: Agency of Women Ex-Combatants in 'Post-War' Space

Keshab Giri, The University of Sydney

Existing literature on the post-war agency of women ex-combatant predominantly focus on macro-level political and economic processes as measures of their agency in the post-war society. This paper adds to the existing macro-level political and economic processes of women's post-war agency by including micro-level socio-cognitive processes with the introduction of two novel concepts — 'strategic silence' and 'epistemic resistance'. After categorizing the extant research into four categories — post-war as regression; structural forces shaping post-war regression; situated agency of women ex-combatants; and micro-politics of post-war — the paper introduces two novel concepts, 'strategic silence' and 'epistemic resistance'. By forefronting micro-level socio-cognitive processes, the paper presents more complicated and complete picture of women ex-combatants' post-war agency. 'Strategic silence' indicates the capacity of women ex-combatants to consciously stay silent to highlight the collective gains and empowerment for women while sacrificing the self. Secondly, 'epistemic resistance' captures their ability to resist dominant narratives of social transformation by the Maoists in Nepal focusing on narratives around marriage during and after the insurgency. I conducted thirty-nine extensive interviews during my fieldwork in Nepal (2017-2018)

involving female ex-combatants, their leaders (male and female), and experts. This paper makes an important intervention in feminist security studies and feminist international relations with a specific focus on gender in post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding.

Insurgent approach to research: Building community knowledge and resistance against the 'war on drugs' in the Philippines

Teresa Jopson, The Australian National University & Davao City Aliya Sakaran

The paper describes our collaborative investigation of the everyday struggle against precarity and over two decades of the 'war on drugs' in a Moro community in Davao City. Drawing from postcolonial, feminist, and participatory research methods, we explore an insurgent approach to research overlapping conflicts in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. This entailed identifying sources of insecurity as well as agents and partners, concrete actions supporting a community-based drug prevention initiative, and reflections on the thinking and practices that can break impunity and violence in the community. In the aftermath of police and vigilante operations in the 'war on drugs', we found families are the poorer and women are burdened to keep households and their communities together. We thus criticise the policies and conduct of the national and local governments' 'war on drugs' as a war against the poor and against women. For the community, state support for their initiatives against drug abuse and providing employment and education are more productive in curbing the underground drug trade in Mindanao. We argue that researchers can create opportunities for insurgent knowledge-building in traditional research methods through active collaboration with research partners. Our approach dares to build knowledge to challenge powerful thinking and practices that shape the concrete conditions in marginalised communities through collaboration in responding to a community-defined need.

A Feminist Turn in Mexico's Climate Policy? Domestic and International Implications

Daniela Stevens, Center for Research and Teaching in Economics

Informed by Feminist International Political Economy this paper explores the link between gender representation of women politicians and climate policy, and asks two questions. First, are women represented in the national public service helping to draft climate policy? Second, does the representation of women in domestic policymaking processes influence a country's international position? These questions remain particularly relevant for climate-vulnerable and developing

countries that are amongst the top emitters. With a focus on three Mexican agencies, the Environmental, Energy and Foreign Affairs Secretariats, this article uses a longitudinal case study to explore to what extent a feminist perspective informs the nation's domestic and international climate policies. Mexico is one of the most vulnerable nations to extreme weather events, and claims to have a "Feminist" foreign policy since 2018. This discursive feminist turn gives an opportunity to assess whether the workforce, rules, and international position changed one year after the adoption of a Feminist foreign policy.

Panel 3-6. Feminist Security Studies: Conversing from the Margins (Highlight)

Revisiting Feminist visions of security: Why Security studies should heed feminist scholarship?

Smita Singh, Committee on External Affairs, Parliament of India (virtual)

By proposing an alternative conception of power, peace, war, security and violence feminist scholars such as Ann Tickner, Cynthia Enloe, Jill Steans, and others have broadened and widened the agenda of Security Studies. The paper contends that despite generations of feminist engagement with the discipline of IR and Security Studies, the former has received scanty acknowledgment both in theory and practice. The fact that the larger literature look at Feminist Security Studies as a subset of Critical Security Studies makes Enloe's question of 'where are the women' still relevant. The invisibility of women's voice as a diplomat, academician, and a decision-maker merits serious academic contemplation. The paper asserts that Feminist Security Studies have not only challenged the epistemological basis, theoretical formulations, and methodology of IR but have vastly enriched it. To make a case for making Security Studies more gender-specific, the paper has been organized into three parts. The first part historicizes the generations of feminist literature on security and its contribution to the discipline of Security Studies. Then, it delves into the rationale and implications of the mainstream IR narrative as 'gender-neutral' on the sidelining of gender as an analytical tool. The broader question of why feminist scholarship was neglected by Security Studies and the need for taking it more seriously has been addressed in the last section.

Smita is as an Assistant Committee Officer in the Committee on External Affairs, Parliament of India. Since 2019, Smita has been a Next Generation Fellow at Women in International Security (WIIS Global) Washington D.C. She is a Honorary Member of the Research Advisory Committee for the project 'Gender Mainstreaming in Indian Foreign Policy' by the Centre for Social Research, New Delhi.

Rethinking the role of the Security Council for feminist activism: The WPS agenda after 20 years

Jenna Sapiano, Monash University Natasha Singh Raghuvanshi, Monash University

Discord between permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is now more evident than any time since the end of the Cold War. In the past five years, there has also been a marked rise in the backlash against women's rights and gender equality at the global and national levels. In reflecting on these two trends, the article analyses the impact of the discord in the UNSC on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda by applying a critical and postcolonial feminist approach. It argues that the Security Council is no longer, if it ever was, the best suited international institution to have control over the international feminist agenda. In the year leading up to the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the first WPS agenda UNSC Resolution 1325, the Security Council adopted two WPS resolutions - 2467 and 2493. The first resolution was adopted during the annual UNSC open debate on conflict related sexual violence with two abstentions, a break from the tradition of unanimous adoption of all previous WPS agenda resolutions. The second resolution, tabled during the annual WPS open debate, required concessions in the proposed language on women human rights defenders in order to reach a unanimous adoption. Power dynamics between permanent member states have transformed the agenda from a global normative framework into a site of contestations. Therefore, the article asks if the Security Council can remain a space of feminist activism as the early advocates of the WPS agenda had hoped.

Let's talk Racialized, Gender based violence on the Inside- Experiences from the Eastern Margins of India

Dipti Tamang, Darjeeling Government College (virtual)

As a Global South scholar in the field of global politics, I continue to develop my understanding of feminisms from the histories of my South Asian feminist circles. I learn and I grow and alongside develop a growing sense of unease as I question the multiple understanding and practice of feminisms. This stems from my own experiences and those of my peers, friends colleagues of the community I belong to in the Eastern region of India- home to multiple tribal, ethnic communities. Our experiences of violence is a direct outcome of racialized hierarchies and racialized/gendered

hierarchies for the women of our communities. Racism as a form of systemic, political, cultural and historical practice in the mainland's treatment towards its eastern peripheries is evident in the form of the militarised realities of these regions. The institutionalisation of these hierachies is evident in the everyday treatment of people from these spaces experiencing horrific forms of violence, sexual violence in the mainland and these regions. In my paper I seek to explore how mainland feminism has engaged with these realities of race and gender in defining notions and practices of feminism. Why despite such engagement much of us continue to feel a sense of unease with these engagements by the mainland feminists and feminisms. How can such conversations contribute to broadening our understanding of feminisms in the Global South

A WPS National Action Plan for India?

Soumita Basu, South Asian University (virtual)

As of September 2021, 98 United Nations (UN) member states have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the associated Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Barring a couple of exceptions, there have been no initiatives to develop a WPS National Action Plan (NAP) for India, neither by the government that is well known for its aspirations to become a global power, nor by the well-regarded feminist civil society actors that work in conflict-affected parts of the country. Against this background, the paper examines the scope for an Indian NAP for the implementation of the WPS agenda. Relying primarily on documentary analysis, it provides a comprehensive picture of Indian engagement with the agenda. In this respect, it draws attention to the outward orientation of the government's initiatives and the ambivalence within the civil society vis-a-vis resolution 1325. Taking account of the scholarly critique of existing NAPs, the paper ultimately argues that a NAP – substantive or otherwise – is not a realistic proposition in the Indian context because of the nature of the government's stance on the agenda and, importantly, the divergent positions within the feminist civil society itself.

Panel 4-1. Tensions in Standpoint Theorising in a Settler-Colonial and Decolonial Context (Roundtable)

Shreya Singh, University of Queensland Rajni Gamage, Colombo, Sri Lanka Anna Carlson, Meanjin/Brisbane, University of Queensland Dr Natalie Osbourne, Meanjin/Brisbane, Griffith University

Standpoint theory has a long and rich tradition of centering the historical and social locatedness of knowledge projects. It provides a strong starting point for critical analysis where the subject can acknowledge the partiality of their analysis and be reflexive in processes of knowledge production. Standpoint theory is therefore useful as a methodological tool which examines the perceived neutrality in standard research norms and practices and can be a way of knowing (Robinson 2013, 332-3). Our panel proposes to examine our respective social and historical locations and to produce political and intellectual work in conjunction with such locatedness. This is expected to demonstrate what knowledge production can look like and how our social location, along with our geographical location, offers knowledge not only about ourselves but also the world and society around us. This discussion comprises four researchers and their intersecting research on feminism, post/decolonialism, settler-colonialism, and spatial politics. The discussion is anchored in the tensions and ambivalence of standpoint theorizing. This research deals with the spatial politics of India, Sri Lanka, and the Australian settler-colonial contexts, even as it understands these processes to be constituted and linked to processes of global social and political relations.

In doing so, we acknowledge that we are not writing from the sole locations of the oppressed or the margins, but also locations of complicity, power, and institutional places of privilege. The central question consequently asked is what kinds of knowledge and solidarities can be formed from locations marked by contradiction, contingency, and complicity.

Panel 4-2. Gendered State and Regulated Migration

Diaspora-based Development: Where are women in the strategy? Case Study of Engaging Indonesian Diaspora Policy

Mita Yesyca, Ewha Womans University (in person)

Indonesia is known as a sending country for women migrant domestic workers, especially to the Middle East region and Asian neighboring countries. However, since the last decade, Indonesia has been aggressively sending students abroad too. Along with China and India, Indonesia is growing to be the largest sources of global student diasporas. To understand the gender dimension of such development strategy, the paper seeks to answer two questions: where are the positions of Indonesian women diaspora in this development strategy and what are the implications of such positioning for Indonesian women diaspora? Data are collected using two methods; first, literature study, mainly from the official documents of Indonesian governments; regulations; as well as the statements of government officials regarding engaging diaspora policy recorded in the official government media and national news portals accessed online. Second, in-depth interview with five Indonesian women postgraduate students in South Korea. The study shows that the engagement to Indonesian diaspora by Indonesian government has been influenced by the global migration regime. Within this strategy, people are given freedom to contribute through the expansion of nationalism including anyone who has Indonesia in their heart. Along with the freedom, the state regulates individuals and places them differently in their citizenship status. Treatment and facilities are given differently depend on the potential of individuals who can add more value in the knowledge-based economy. As the result, women workers and refugees become the most vulnerable sub-group in the hierarchy of Indonesian diaspora citizens.

"I belong to this country, but do I really belong?": Temporal disjuncture and the affective politics of protection after trafficking

Emily Clifford, Exeter University (in person)

Announced in early 2021, the British government's New Plan for Immigration promises 'the most significant overhaul of our asylum system in decades' under the auspice of protecting innocent life: 'To stop the deaths, we must stop the trade in people that causes them' (HC Deb 24 March 2021). Authoring the Plan's 'Foreword', Home Secretary Priti Patel celebrates the UK's 'proud history' as an 'open' and 'generous' actor on the world stage, using this to underpin an image of post-Brexit 'Global Britain' as a 'global leader' in the protection of those most in need (2021: 3, 11). Drawing from ongoing research for my doctoral thesis, this paper problematises this assertion by investigating the government's provision of protection for non-British women who have been trafficked to the UK. Building from feminist readings of the affective and temporal politics of fear, vulnerability, trauma, and testimony, I view protection as an affective experience. Using in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Nigerian women in post-trafficking situations in the UK, I explore how their expectations of protection as future freedom meet their present tense realities of displacement and temporariness. Through the notions of 'wellness', 'knowledge', and 'choice', my participants understand protection affectively as a journey towards national inclusion. Yet, interruptions produce a temporal disjuncture between their lived experience of protection and protection as a national promise. I finish by considering how this could create affective space to construct alternative forms of protection outside of the nation state framework.

Emily Clifford: I am a final-year PhD student from the University of Exeter, UK. My research problematises the British government's claim to protect West African women in post-trafficking situations. I explore affective, spatial, and temporal registers of protection, mapping how notions of trauma, vulnerability, and home shape the politics of sovereign power.

Victim or Survivor? The language battle about female migrants in Thailand

Jihyun Kim, The University of Sydney

In mainstream development discourses, female migrants who come from developing countries have often been represented as victims of sexual trafficking, gender-based violence and the exploitation of labour. However, with the emergence of post-colonial feminist critique in the 1980s, the

discourses and representations of passive and essentialized "Third world women" have been critiqued. With a rise of women's empowerment agenda and an institutional focus on women's agency, and in an attempt to overcome the representations of "Third world women" as victims, dominant development actors including UN agencies and international NGOs have started to change the word 'victim' to 'survivor' in their development programs. However, the discourses of 'victim' and 'survivor' are not separate, rather these two are mutually co-constructed and being used interchangeably across the gender development fields. Through analysis of data created through interviewing development practitioners from UN agencies and NGOs in Thailand, this article examines how these practitioners strategically select the words 'victims' or 'survivors' in what context, and what are the tensions between the two. This article explores the different roles of development actors, states, and markets, and their different meanings, depending on whether female migrants are constructed as victims or survivors in the interview data. Finally, drawing on the postcolonial feminist critiques, this research examines how the discourses of the victim or survivor interlock with the geopolitical context of South-South migration, which is often represented in terms of the failures of the post-colonial authoritarian governments and the low-cost labour sending countries in the global economic context.

Gendered State: Governmentality and the Labor Migration Policy of Sri Lanka

Jayathry Gunaratne, Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University

Madhuka Wickramarachchi, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

Governments' use of its authority to control the behavior of its citizens through different measures such as education, laws, rules, and regulations is discussed widely in Michael Foucault's concept on 'governmentality'. Built on this standing, this paper intends to explain how the government of Sri Lanka uses 'mechanisms of management' to control the behavior of a targeted group of individuals i.e., unskilled female migrant workers. We argue that the government re-produce gender norms through laws and regulation to achieve its policy interests. We discuss how does new migration law control women's right to migration for financial purposes by interpreting the aspects of 'Family Background Report'. This study adopts a combined method, while reviewing of secondary data i.e., laws, regulations, and existing literature on related areas be the main focus of the study, findings will be complemented by some empirical data collected through structured interviews with government officials. We conclude revealing how mechanisms of management (as explained in 'governmentality') have been utilized by the government to control the movements and the right to work of this segment of women by applying its authority. We further explain how these laws and

regulations have been changed over the time to cater the policy interests of the succeeding governments.

Demystifying the Intersections in Uganda's Refugee response Strategy

Beatrice Alupo, Griffith University (in person)

Uganda's refugee population has complex intersections between gender, ethnicity, religion, and age. However, there is scarce research on how and when the intersections affect Uganda's refugee response strategy when responding to a large refugee population of about 1.4 million with varying needs. The paper contributes to understanding the Ugandan government refugee response, specifically the refugee resettlement, by drawing on literature from semi-structured interviews with 25 key informants, including Uganda government officials, international and local humanitarian organisations, and Civil Society Organisations and donor partners. This qualitative study reveals that Uganda's refugee response strategy mainly focuses on mainstreaming gender-equitable access in health, education, and leadership programs without considering intersecting identities of religion, ethnicity, and age, which equally interfere with access to refugee provision opportunities. The paper recommends an improved understanding of intersecting identity orientations when developing gender-inclusive refugee resettlement programs, as they play a significant role in determining refugees' equitable access and inclusion.

Panel 4-3. Reading Complex Friction: Issues of Feminism in Contemporary Asia

Chair: Miro Leon Bucher

Discussants: Rosevi Mojica Sung, Yesyca Mita, Miro Leon Bucher

The online trafficker-mother and the online sexual exploitation of children in the Philippines: Conceptualizing Mothering and Transnational Child Sexual Exploitation

Bea Patricia Devesa, Ewha Womans University

As unemployment and poverty continues to plague the country's citizens, and with increasing financial burdens, a significant number of impoverished Filipino mothers resort to sexually exploiting their children. In exchange for compensation from foreign customers, often Western men, the mothers engage in trafficking activities by livestreaming and/or distributing visual depictions of sexual exploitation of their children. According to the 2020 report by the International Justice Mission (IJM), the Philippines is the largest known source of online sexual exploitation of children (OSEC) materials in the world. The online trafficker-mothers' motivations to engage in OSEC activities reflect the dire realities of low-income, impoverished Filipino families as a result of state's neoliberal calculations. In addition, several global capitalist infrastructures including remittance systems and low-cost ICT infrastructure and services have created an enabling environment for OSEC crimes to surge in the Philippines. Lastly, this research aims to present a more complex and nuanced rationalization of Filipino motherhood and mothering practices demonstrated by the mother-online traffickers. Their conception of mothering is influenced by existing Filipino cultural norms of mutual obligation, changing mother roles, and the reinterpretation of parental responsibility in relation to child protection. This study aims to extend the discourse beyond the oversimplification of criminal acts involving women and mothers from the 'deviant woman' and 'bad mother' to a more complex and nuanced rationalization of womanhood and mothering.

Women and Internet: Information Literacy Campaign by Women Association in Indonesia

Monika Sri Yuliarti, Ewha Womans University

Women and technology remain a crucial issue. Women representation in technology-related field is still under the men's. COVID-19 pandemic made it worse. Women have been being marginalized more since there has been a social distancing policy. This policy changed the communication style between people. There is no face-to-face communication anymore, but it is dominated by mediated communication. It also happens in many activities, such as working, going to school, or involving in an organization or community. Everything shifted to online (by the time this article is written, some of the offices and schools are already change the policy, due to the decrease of COVID-19 case in Indonesia). Started in the early of 2020, the using of internet network tools got higher, including among women. On the other side, internet sometimes provide inaccurate information. Hoaxes is one of which that should be aware of, specificallt COVID-19 hoaxes. This paper will explore how women communities: ASWGI (Asosiasi Studi Wanita dan Gender Indonesia/ Association of Women and Gender Indonesia) along with WIE-IEEE (Women in Engineering-Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers) did a campaign in information literacy to fight COVID-19 pandemic hoaxes. One of the biggest challenges is how they managed to do the campaign which is involving women who considered as second society in term of technology. Several focuses in this article are the whole process of this social campaign, starting from the preparation of the campaign, the coordination and communication between the members, the training of trainer activity, the action of the social campaign itself, and the feedback from the society. The interesting part of this social campaign is: it happened during COVID-19 pandemic, so all of the activities held in online mode. It was also a form of education to the society conducted by women association.

Queering Queer Identity: Political Lesbianism in Korean Radical Feminist Discourses

Heewon Sohn, Ewha Womans University

Political Lesbianism is a practice of so-called Radical Feminists (abbreviated Rad-fems, also called Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminism; TERF), which is one of the issues of constructing the dichotomous columns in the site of online feminism in Korea, queer feminism and rad-fems. These two parties of feminism are deemed as the two biggest branches of Korean feminism; however, they are constructed by the oppositional discourses, sometimes the languages they use could be thought as overlapping and contains inner contradictions, which could be found in the discourses and controversies over political lesbianism.

In the language of political lesbianism, lesbian is separated from queer for the word itself is related to the inner diversity, and the relations and connections between 'biological' women is the only political practices for what they call feminism. It also asserts that lesbian identity can be politically chosen; in addition to this, lesbianism is put as the series of practices including close relationships, bond, and solidarity among women by building female-only coalition completely independent from men and heterosexuality.

Discursive conflict constructing the binarism of queer feminists and rad-fems is usually about whether sexual identity could be chosen consciously. The former is against the concept of 'political' sexual identity, often depending on essentialist languages, and the latter accepts the possibility of political identity by practicing it, which could be read as constitution of identity by repetitious perform and practices, which seems to contradict the idea of TERF feminism that identity is determined biologically. Therefore, the possibility of queering the controversies over queer identities should be found beyond the dichotomous opposition of Korean online feminism, to expand the concepts of sexuality and queer identities, by acknowledging the multiple streams, innercontradiction and contending notions within feminist discourses.

Friction in the discourse of 'Anti-sodomy military law' in South Korea: Discourse of Military Criminal Act Article 92-5 and Intervention of LGBT rights organizations and the Military Human Rights Center

Hyera Jung, Ewha Womans University

This study traces the construction of discourse on Article 92-5 in the Military Criminal Act in South Korea and examines how LGBT rights activists and Military Human Rights Center have participated/intervened in this debate. In addition, this study will analyze the interaction between these organizations and the Korean military/government/judiciary on the issue of the abolishment of Article 92-5. This Article stipulates that "a person who commits anal intercourse with any person prescribed in Article 1 (1) through (3) or any other indecent act shall be punished by imprisonment with labor for not more than two years.". Focusing on punishing the act of "anal sex" regardless of judging the compulsion, this became problematic as it became the basis for the search and punishment of sexual minorities in the military. On April 21, 2022, the Supreme Court sent the case back to the Higher Military Court, overturning the lower court that convicted the accused who had been indicted for sexual assault under the Military Criminal Act for the first time in 14 years. It is necessary to examine what the meaning of the military criminal law on molestation crime has been constructed and what the political struggles of various actors are to understand the change of the Supreme Court decision. The power Article 92-6 does not lie in the laws or institutions themselves, but rather it works with discourse that argues for the preservation or abolition of the regulation. As

seeing the state regulation as a product of political struggle and discursive practice, I would like to read frictions, cracks, and solidarity that occur in the discourse surrounding Military Criminal Act Article 92-5.

Panel 4-4. Demystifying Publishing and Review Process: Meet IFjP Editors

Moderator: Laura Sjoberg (former IFjP Co-Editor-in-Chief)

Current Co-Editors-in-Chief in attendance in bold:

shine choi, Te Kunenga Ki Pūrehuroa Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand Natália Félix de Souza, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, Brazil Amy LInd, University of Cincinnati, USA Elisabeth Prügl, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland Swati Parashar, University of Gothenburg, Sweden Marysia Zalewski, Cardiff University, Wales, UK

Panel 4-5. Re-encountering Rights: Sexuality, Gender and Legal Institutions

Whose sexuality and what sexuality can do? Queering sexualities in Timor-Leste

Li-Li Chen, Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e (in person)

Covid-19 intensifies the social injustices and inequalities faced by LGBT community in Timor-Leste as well as highlights the importance of their inclusion and recognition. A feminist's move to examine Timor-Leste's response of Covid-19 and LGBT NGOs' call to "count us too" help problematize its failure to include LGBT community in policies, yet they may not go far enough to challenge the underlying universality and essentialization of sexuality, which focuses merely on the status quo of jurisdictional and legal nexus. However, the experiences of sexualities also occur in political economy and social-cultural realms, which are subject to change and vary among individuals in different times and places. This paper asks what sexuality means in jurisdictional, legal, political economy, and socialcultural terms, as well as the unintended consequences of mobilizing sexuality as a political strategy wrapped in the rights language by LGBT NGOs in Timorese context. By drawing on the literature queering political economy and queer international theory, which looks at both queer theory and political economy, LGBT movement, as well as the interviews with the LGBT community, the author argues that by translating sexuality to local contexts, Timor-Leste tends to control and mobilize sexuality to strengthen nationalism through inclusion, which could risk resulting in invisibility, marginalization and exclusion of LGBT community in economy and institutions. This paper suggests that instead of simplifying and reifying the concept of sexuality as reality or facts, feminist scholars should always gueer it as a contentious site of oppression and resistance.

Encountering rights cultures in the British military

Hannah Richards, Cardiff University, United Kingdom (in person)

The British military has a long and turbulent relationship with human rights. The study of this has generated a rich body of literature exploring the many ambiguities and contradictions that arise when considering the universalistic principles of human rights within an institution predicated upon violent forms of national protection. Traditionally, research has focussed on the impact of human rights laws and norms during combat (narrowly defined), employment practices, and discriminatory behaviours. Inspired by conversations taking place within feminist scholarship, this paper turns to less obvious spaces of war and violence to ask what the particular struggles for rights in nonoperational contexts reveal about the gendered and racialised power relations and dynamics of British militarism. Drawing upon the conceptualisation of 'vernacular rights cultures' (Madhok 2021), this paper explores specific rights practices and languages articulated across three different sites within the British military: professional military education, the military court system, and civil litigation. The paper argues that these sites, although linked, do not map neatly onto 'global' human rights principles. Instead, they illuminate the messy, unbounded, and ill-defined encounters of British military service personnel with rights articulations. In turning to such encounters, this paper asks how 'rights' are collectively mediated within a military context, and consequently what this tells us about how value is attached to particular conceptions of the 'human subject' over others.

Hannah Richards is a second year PhD student at Cardiff University. Her research interests concern the various interactions between military power, political activism, human rights, and scandal. Funded by the ESRC, her doctoral research explores rights politics in the British military through a feminist lens.

Reproductive atrocities in Latin American: What role does human rights discourse and practice play?

Mariana Assis, Brazil Federal University of Goiás (in person)

The history of Latin America is built upon a series of events that has caused and continues to cause reproductive harms to women, transgender and non-binary people. To name a few instances, enslaved Black and indigenous were subjected to gruesome forms of sexual violence and enjoyed no reproductive freedom in the context of colonization. In more recent years, thousands of Indigenous women were forcibly sterilized during Fujimori's dictatorship, in Peru, between 1990 and 2000. Similarly, in Brazil, thousands of Black and poor women were sterilized without their consent in the 1990s. Transgender and non-binary people continue to survive in a context of quotidian violence and institutional denial of their identities. Finally, the region has some of the most restrictive abortion laws in the world, having sentenced women to 30 years in jail. I have coined the term 'reproductive atrocity' to describe these forms of structural violence that affect the reproductive lives and choices of women, transgender and non-binary people across the region. Some of these issues have now reached the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. This paper examines the Court's jurisprudence on sexual and reproductive rights from a feminist decolonial perspective, asking if the legal standards developed and most importantly, the remedies envisioned by the Court, are sufficient to promote reproductive justice across the region. The paper contrasts and compares what reproductive justice entails for the movements building this concept and organizing to pursue it in the region, and what formal human rights institutions are willing to deliver. As such, the paper employs a critical analysis of documentary data, particularly decolonial feminist publications on reproductive justice and the Inter-American Court's sentences on sexual and reproductive rights.

Shame, Honour and Gender: Tamil women in Devakottai Refugee camp

Sudha Rawat, Jawaharlal Nehru University (in person)

The aim of this paper is to bring forth the gendered experiences of Tamil women focussing on the implication of socio-cultural norms related to notions of shame and honour. The paper includes the personal stories of Sri Lankan Tamil women, who are living as refugee persons in Devakottai camp. The camp is located in the district of Sivaganga in the state of Tamil Nadu, India. In the camp a clear gender division exists, as certain expectations and pressures are placed upon women to conform

based on social norms and code of conduct. However, women of the camp enjoy a relatively satisfactory position in comparison to women in other societies of South Asia, as they participate in earning for the household and decision making for the family. Despite posing liberal outlook, maintaining a physical separation between public and private space is viewed as an important step in ensuring conservation and stability of traditional culture values by male members of the camp. Women are generally subjected to very strict shame-honour norms and scrutiny, and any 'deviation' to it attracts social, cultural and moral consequences. These cultural notions are often reinforced with greater emphasis, especially on young girls who attain puberty. Regulating their sexuality, mobility and gendered relationship to safeguard their 'purity' is extremely common among the Tamil families here . As women's bodies, ideologically, heralded as repositories of honour and status of their families, thus any act by women beyond the traditional patriarchal role is considered equivalent or any harm to their bodies is regarded as bringing shame or disrespect to the family or community. Thus male member of the camps puts patriarchal surveillance on women's behaviour which is reinforced by systematic and often quite sever control of women's social and especially sexual behavior including their mobility and access to certain space. These strict rules constrict women's behaviour and make them perform according to the demands and wishes of the family and community members. For understanding the gendered experiences of Tamil women the paper is using the qualitative methods of ethnography and case study. For conducting interviews the paper is using a method of semi-structured interview but is also relying on informal conversational interview with no predetermined question in order to remain open and adaptable to the needs and priorities of interviewees.