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# **First European Conference on Politics and Gender**

21-23 January 2009  
Queen's University Belfast

## **PROGRAMME**

(draft)

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### **SECTION 1: Social Movements**

*Section chair:* Lee Ann Banaszak

#### **Panel 1: Gendered Representations, Appearances, and Talk in Movements**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Jo Reger (Oakland University, USA)

Paula Lobo (Universidade do Minho, Portugal)

Women in the Media: A Critical Analysis of Gender Social Representations

Jo Reger (Oakland University, USA)

The Politics of Fashion in the Contemporary U.S. Women's Movement

Julia Edthofer (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria)  
Gendered Political Subjectivities within New Social Movements from an Intersectionality Perspective

Canan Aslan-Akman (Middle East Technical University, Turkey) and Fatma Tutuncu (Abant Izzet Baysal University, Turkey)  
Dilemmas of women in Movement at the Crossroads of Secular State, Islamist Politics and Democratization

Discussant: Julia Edthofer (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria)

## **Panel 2: Domestic Political Opportunities and Women's Movements**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair Joyce Gelb (City College New York, USA)

L. Pauline Rankin (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada)  
After the Roses Wilted: The Women's Movement in Post-Revolutionary Georgia

Laure Bereni (Institut des sciences sociales du politique - ISP-ENS Cachan, France)  
Think the transversal dimension of women's collective struggles: the concept of space of the women's Claim

Lori Poloni-Staudinger (Northern Arizona University, USA) and Candice Ortals (Pepperdine University, USA)  
Gendered Opportunities? Political Opportunities and Activity Choice Among Women's Movements in the UK, France, and Germany

Rachel Brickner (Acadia University, Canada)  
Triple Militancy? Expanding the Boundaries of Union Women's Activism in Mexico

Discussant: Joyce Gelb (City College New York, USA)

## **Panel 3: Effecting Change: How Social Movements Change Domestic Politics**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Lee Ann Banaszak (Penn State University, USA)

Marian Sawyer (Australian National University, Australia)  
Premature Obituaries: How can we tell if Social Movements are Over?

Heidi Berggren (University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, USA)  
European Work-Family Policies and Gender Role Attitudes

Ayşe Gönüllü (Middle East Technical University, Turkey)  
Contemporary Women's Activism in Turkey: The Case of the Penal Code in Turkey

Serpil Sancar (Ankara University, Turkey)

After Two Decades of Movement: Considerations on Successes and Failure of Feminism in Turkey

Discussant: Lee Ann Banaszak (Penn State University, USA)

**Panel 4: Representation in Democracy and the Feminist Movement**

Panel session 5: Thursday 22/01/09 14.00-15.30

Chair: Marian Sawyer (Australian National University, Australia)

Sophie Stoffel (Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)

Are the Institutionalised Feminist Organisations Political Representatives? Lesson from the Chilean Case

Sabine Blashcke (University of Vienna, Austria)

Determinants of Female Representation in the Decision-Making Structures of Trade Unions

Yvette Jeuken (Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands)

The de-authorising of feminist and activist political practices

Joyce Gelb (City College New York, USA)

Feminist Activism Pro and Anti Hillary Clinton: An Evaluation of her Presidential Campaign

Discussant: Marian Sawyer (Australian National University, Australia)

**Panel 5: Transnational Women's Movements and Women's Movements in Transnational Institutions**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: L. Pauline Rankin (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada)

Celia Valiente (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)

Internationalization, Religion and Gender Identities: The Feminist Protest within the Spanish Catholic Church in Franco's Spain

Sabine Lang (University of Washington, USA)

Communicating Gender: Transnational Women's Networks as Information and Advocacy Hubs

Petra Ahrens (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

Mapping Gender Equality Advocacy Coalitions in the European Union

Edme Dominguez (Göteborgs University, Sweden) and Cirila Quintero (Colegio de la Frontera Norte-Matamoros, Mexico)

Resistance to Global Capital at the Local Level: Search for Solidarity and Transnational Organizing Among Women Workers in Mexico

Discussant: L. Pauline Rankin (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada)

**Panel 6: Institutionalised women's movements?**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Celia Valiente (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)

Lee Ann Banaszak and Jiso Yoon (Penn State University, USA)

Feminist Activists Inside the State: Comparing Paths to Insider Activism in the United States, Germany and the United Kingdom

Joan Grace (University of Winnipeg, Canada)

Why Institutions Matter: Women's Policy Advocacy in Canada, Ireland and Scotland

Mary K. Meyer & name McAleese (Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, USA)

Assessing the Impact of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition on Politics in Northern Ireland: Marginalization, Co-optation, or Transformation?

Hanne Marlene Dahl (Roskilde University, Denmark)

An old Map of State feminism: Care and Recognition

Discussant: Celia Valiente (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)

**Panel 7: Institutionalised gender politics?**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Sabine Lang (University of Washington, USA)

Nicole Doerr (European University Institute, Italy)

Finally Gender Equality within a culturally mixed European Counter Public?  
Deliberative Talk and the Problem of Inclusion in the ESF Process

Christine Löw (J.W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M., Germany)

Private Property, Knowledge and Gender: The Case of Intellectual Property Rights and Genetic Resources

Pauline Cullen (Dickinson College, Carlisle Pennsylvania)

European Union Social NGOs, Gender Equality and Contests for Recognition

Pelin Azer Binnet (Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey)

Liberal Discourses in an Illiberal Context? Compensating for Personalized Politics in Turkey

Discussant: Sabine Lang (University of Washington, USA)

## SECTION 2a: **Political Parties and Quotas**

*Section chair:* Sarah Childs

### **Panel 1: Political Parties 1**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Sarah Childs (University of Bristol, UK)

Fiona Buckley (University College Cork, UK) and Tim White (Xavier University, UK)  
An investigation of pipeline theory and women's recruitment to the Irish Parliament:  
Results from the 2007 General Election

Jeanette Ashe (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)  
Winners and Losers in British Labour Party Selections, 2001- 2008

Yvan Rielle (University of Bern, Switzerland)  
Gender Culture, Recruitment Process and Women's Parliamentary Representation

Isabel Diz and Marta Lois (Santiago de Compostela University, Spain)  
Implementing the principle of balanced representation: an analysis of the recruiting  
procedures in political parties

Discussant: Sarah Childs (University of Bristol, UK)

### **Panel 2: Political Parties 2**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Joni Lovenduski (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Emelie Lilliefeldt (Stockholm University, Sweden)  
Configuring gender and party

Lucie Bargel (Centre de recherches politiques de la Sorbonne, France)  
Socialization to political practices within youth organisations of the French parties  
and gendered selection of politicians

Cetti Vacante (Università di Catania, Italy)  
The Bottleneck of the parties

Borbála Kriza (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary)  
Hungarian women's participation in national and European politics

Discussant: Joni Lovenduski (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

**Panel 3: Quotas 1**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Anne Maria Holli (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Petra Meier (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

Gender Quotas and the Issue of Symbolic Representation

Susan Franceschet (University of Calgary , Canada) and Jennifer Piscopo (University of California, USA)

Gender Quotas and Women's Descriptive Representation: Comparing Male and Female Legislators in the Argentine Congress

Denise Walsh (University of Virginia, USA)

Deliberation and Representation in South Africa

Discussant: Anne Maria Holli (University of Helsinki, Finland)

**Panel 4: Quotas 2**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Par Zetterberg (Uppsala University, Sweden)

Tania Verge (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain)

Party Candidate Selection Processes and the Gender Regime at the Local Level

Mona Lena Krook (Washington University in St. Louis, USA)

The Impact of Gender Quotas: A Research Agenda

Drude Dahlerup (Stockholm University, Sweden)

The Actual Impact of Gender Quotas in Politics

Lenita Freidenvall (University of Stockholm, Sweden)

Feminist Institutionalism: Political Parties and Quota Reform in Sweden

Discussant: Par Zetterberg (Uppsala University, Sweden)

**Panel 5: Parité**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Katherine Opello (The City University of New York-Kingsborough Community College, USA)

Fleur Prade (Pennsylvania State University, USA)

Women No Longer "Le Deuxième Sexe" in Politics. Two Approaches to the Parity Law (France and Belgium)

Catherine Achin (Université Paris 8, France) and Sandrine Lévêque (Université Paris 1, France)

Parity context in France. Women between banishment and professionalization

Rainbow Murray (University of London, UK)

Counting the costs? Explaining the implementation of the French parity law using a rational choice approach to party behaviour

Discussant: Katherine Opello (The City University of New York-Kingsborough Community College, USA)

## SECTION 2b: **Political Representation**

*Section chair:* Joni Lovenduski

### **Panel 1: Political Representation 1**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Drude Dahlerup (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Kris Deschower and Silvia Erzeel (Free University of Brussels, Belgium)

Claiming to Represent Women in the Integration Policy Debate in Belgium and the Netherlands

Sarah Childs (University of Bristol, UK), Paul Webb and Sally Marthaler (University of Sussex, UK)

Substantively Representing Women in a Conservative Fashion: the Work and Families Act 2006

Carole Spary (University of Warwick, UK)

Regional and gender identity in parliamentary ceremony and ritual: a study of diversity and representation the Indian Parliament

Jaycee Whitehead (Pacific University)

American Presidents don't cry. A Sociological Discourse Analysis of Gender, Heteronormativity, Race and Class in the 2008 United States Democratic Presidential Primaries.

Discussant: Drude Dahlerup (Stockholm University, Sweden)

### **Panel 2: Political Representation 2 Legislatures**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Faith Armitage (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Christina Eason (University of Manchester, UK)

Are both critical actors and critical actresses necessary for the substantive representation of women in the Transitional House of Lords?

Manda Green

Turnover, term limits and the seniority deficit of women Deputies in France

Rosa Malley (University of Bristol, UK)

Maiden Speeches in the Northern Ireland Assembly: Political Ceremony

Marjeta Šinko (Centre for Women's Studies, Zagreb, Croatia)

Women in Croatian Parliament – Have they reached their Glass Ceiling?

Discussant: Faith Armitage (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

### **Panel 3: Political Representation 3 Political system factors**

Panel session 5: Thursday 22/01/09 14.00-15.30

Chair: Sarah Childs (University of Bristol, UK)

Sara Claro da Fonseca (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany) and Ana Espírito-Santo (European University Institute, Italy)

Beyond the Quota: Women in German Electoral Competition

Robert Lineira (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain)

Gender differences in party choice: evidences from 2008 Spanish general elections

Angela Smith (University of Sunderland, UK)

Wooing women voters?: The 'New men' and the 'Grazia Generation'

Raphael Magin (University of Konstanz, Germany)

Women in Local Parliaments – A Perfect Match?

Discussant: Sarah Childs (University of Bristol, UK)

### **Panel 4: Political representation 4 General empirical**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Drude Dahlerup (Stockholm University, Sweden)

Naima Tabassum University of Sindh, Pakistan)

From Exclusion to Participation: Trajectory of women's political participation in Pakistan

Raquel Pastor Yuste (Pablo de Ola vide University, Spain)

Gender and political parties: Understanding the descriptive dimension of political representation in Spain



Arnita Sitasari (West Virginia University, USA)  
Can We Change Our Perspective? A Comparative Analysis of Indonesian Women  
Political Representation

Tsvetana Boncheva (Ethnographic Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of  
Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria)  
Women in the Bulgarian Politics during the EU Preaccession Period (1990-2006)

Discussant: Drude Dahlerup (Stockholm University, Sweden)

**Panel 5: Representation and participation**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland, New Zealand)

Christina Bergqvist (Uppsala University, Sweden)  
Women as Policy-makers not Policy-takers. An analysis of the connection between  
descriptive and substantial representation of women in Sweden

Michela Zucca (University of Aosta Valley, Italy)  
Women in Alpine Areas: Small Communities, Political Participation, Local  
Administrations

Ermira Danaj (University Marin Barleti, Albania)  
Social isolation and political participation of women in Albania

Lenita Freidenvall (University of Stockholm, Sweden)  
Challenging diversity: on Multiple Inequalities, Cross-cutting Identities and Political  
Representation in Sweden

Discussant: Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland, New Zealand)

**Panel 6: Political leadership and elites**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Judith Squires (University of Bristol, UK)

Veronika Schwediauer (University of Vienna, Austria)  
Political Elite Formation Processes in Austria from a Gendered Perspective

Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland, New Zealand)  
Charting a Political Career: Women's appointment to Cabinet in the world of  
Westminster

Laura Butterfield (Villanova University, ASU) and Michele Penner Angrist (Union  
College, USA)  
Explaining Women's Accession to Executive Power in the Muslim World

Yota Papageorgiou (University of Crete, Greece)

How do we study intra-party political participation? The case of Greek women's  
Central Office party cadres

Discussant: Judith Squires (University of Bristol, UK)

## SECTION 3: **Sexuality and the Body**

### *Section chair:* Joyce Outshoorn

#### **Panel 1: Abortion and reproductive choice**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Teresa Kulawik (Södertörn University, Sweden)

Pedro Esteves Rodriguez (University of Geneva, Switzerland)  
Abortion Politics in Portugal (1993-2007)

Carol Nechemias (Penn State Harrisburg, USA)  
Russia's Drift towards Authoritarianism: The Impact on Women's Reproductive Rights

Karen Lindelöf (Södertörn University, Sweden)  
Bodily and sexual citizenship and the impact of women's movements in policy debates on prenatal diagnosis and abortion in Sweden

Radka Dudová (Academy Sciences, Czech Republic)  
Abortion in Czech legislation and political discourse: from a contraception method to today's controversies.

Discussant: Teresa Kulawik (Södertörn University, Sweden)

#### **Panel 2: Reproductive issues in the light of the new medical technologies**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Kathrin Braun (University of Hannover, Germany)

Giulia Zanini (European University Institute, Italy)  
Italian legislation on medically assisted procreation

Isabelle Engeli (University of Geneva, Switzerland)  
The Gender Dimension of the Controversies on Reproductive Issues: A QCA Analysis Public Policies in Abortion and Assisted Reproductive Technologies

Teresa Kulawik (Södertörn University, Sweden)  
Rethinking bodily citizenship in the era of reprogenetics. Insights from a comparative perspective

Ute Kalender (University of Berlin, Germany)  
Beyond the nuclear family. Queer-feminist perspectives on notions of parenthood in German bioethics

Discussant: Kathrin Braun (University of Hannover, Germany)

**Panel 3: Sex and sexuality in politics**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Joyce Outshoorn (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

David Paternotte (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)

Explaining advocacy convergence: the micro-politics of same-sex marriage in Belgium, France and Spain.

Kelly Kollman (University of Glasgow, UK)

The Same-sex marriage Debate in Canada and the US: The Cultural Resonance of Social Movements Frames

Kathryn McGarry (Trinity, Dublin, Ireland)

Situating Gender and Sexuality in Irish Legal Discourse on Prostitution.

Suzanne Dodillet (University of Gothenburg, Sweden)

Is sex work? Debates on prostitution in Germany and Sweden since the 1970s

Discussant: Joyce Outshoorn (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

**Panel 4: Intimate Citizenship in Europe: claims, demands and practices of women's and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change.**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Sasha Roseneil (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Isabel Crowhurst, (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Intimate citizenship and women's movements in the UK

Tone Hellesund (University of Bergen, Norway)

Intimate citizenship and women's movements in Norway

Christina Santos (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Intimate citizenship and women's movements in the UK

Mariya Stoilova (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Bulgarian case Intimate citizenship and women's movements in the UK

Discussant: Mieke Verloo (University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands)

**Panel 5: Body issues in politics**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna, Austria)

Joyce Outshoorn (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

A Return to Morality Politics? The recent debates on women's body issues in the Netherlands

Shauna Page (University of Ulster, N. Ireland)

Broken Bones and Social Constructionism: Female Genital Mutilation- the Unspoken Form of Domestic Violence

Mervi Patosalmi (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Discursive Constructions of Reproductive Agency: A View from the Finnish Business World

Swati Sharma and Zach Davis (Brigham Young University, UK)

Forcing the Veiled: Patterns of Hijab Use Among Muslim Women in Western Nations

Discussant: Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna, Austria)

## SECTION 4: **Methods and Methodologies**

*Section chair:* Jacqui True

### **Panel 1: Roundtable "Feminism and Institutionalism: promising synthesis or another case of "master's tools"?"**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Fiona Mackay (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Louise Chappell (University of Sydney, Australia/ University of Leiden, Netherlands)

Meryl Kenny (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Georgina Waylen (University of Sheffield, UK)

Joni Lovenduski (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)

Discussant: Fiona Mackay (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

### **Panel 2: New Methodologies for Studying Gender and Politics**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Petra Meier (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

Amanda Wittman (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Re-interpreting Institutional Ethnography for Feminist Politics

Karen Celis (University College Ghent – Ghent University, Belgium), Sarah Childs

(University of Bristol, UK), Johanna Kantola (University of Helsinki, Finland), and

Mona Lena Krook (Washington University in St. Louis, USA)

Gendering Substantive Representation: A New Methodology for Studying  
Representative Claims and Acts

Brenda O'Neill (University of Calgary, Canada)

A Mixed Methods Approach to Studying Women's Political Opinions

Akwugo Emejulu (University of Strathclyde, UK) and Leah Bassel (Université Libre  
de Bruxelles, Belgium)

Comparative Intersectionality: Gender and Ethnicity in France and the United  
Kingdom—A Social Policy Challenge

Discussant: Petra Meier (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

### **Panel 3: Methodological Challenges for the Feminist Research Process**

Panel session 5: Thursday 22/01/09 14.00-15.30

Chair: Jacqui True (University of Auckland, New Zealand)

Maria Hadjipavlou (University of Cyprus, Grece)  
Transformative Methodology and Social Change

Lea Sgier (University of Geneva, Switzerland)  
The Bologna reform at the doctoral level: a gender perspective. The Swiss example

Mary Ssonko Nabacwa (Uganda Christian University, Uganda)  
A critical reflection on the Feminist Research Methodology

Emanuela Lombardo (Universidad Complutense Madrid, Spain), Petra Meier  
(University of Antwerp, Belgium) and Mieke Verloo (Radboud Universiteit  
Nijmegen, The Netherlands)  
Challenges of the discursive politics of gender equality. What about feminist taboos?

Discussant: S. Laurel Weldon (Purdue University, USA)

#### **Panel 4: Researching Men and Masculinities**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Terrell Carver (University of Bristol, UK)

Richard Collier (University of Newcastle, UK)  
Men, Masculinities and the Politics of Fathers' Rights: Rethinking the Relationship  
Between Law, Policy and Gender

Daniel Conway (Loughborough University, UK)  
Masculinities and narrating the past: experiences of researching white men who  
refused to serve in the apartheid army

Harry Ferguson (University of the West of England, UK) and Fergus Hogan  
(Waterford Institute of Technology)  
How many times a night...?!” Researching heterosexual men’s sexual practices and  
masculinities

Ana Jordan (University of Bristol, UK)  
Researching Fathers Rights Groups

Discussant: Terrell Carver (University of Bristol, UK)

## SECTION 5: Violence, war and security

*Section chair:* Lene Hansen

### **Panel 1: Gender, violence, and the stability of nations and states**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Katrin Kinzelbach (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Austria)

Daphne Warlamis (University of Vienna, Austria)

Counter insurgency warfare and nation building from a gender and human security perspective

Dibyesh Anand (University of Westminster, UK)

Nationalism as a Fear of the Masculine

Paul Higate (University of Bristol, UK)

Private Military Security Companies and the Problem of Men and Masculinities

Jennifer Skulte-Ouaiss (Lebanese American University, Lebanon)

Systemic Political Crisis in Lebanon: Analysis from a Feminist Perspective

Discussant: Lene Hansen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

### **Panel 2: Women, peacebuilding and conflict-resolution**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Lene Hansen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

Maria Deiana (Queen's University Belfast, Ireland)

Women and peacebuilding in Bosnia: from the exclusion from Dayton, to the implementation of Resolution 1325.

Night Queen Pankaj

Dowry Death: Indian Perspective

Rachel Amram (University of Pittsburgh, USA)

Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET): Women's Inclusion as a Tool for Peacebuilding

Katie Sheketoff (George Washington University, USA)

Women's Roles in Public and Private Decision-Making in Post-Conflict Contexts

Discussant: Daphne Warlamis (University of Vienna, Austria)



### **Panel 3: Gender, power, resistance**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Night Queen Pankaj

Marina Calloni (University of Milano, Italy)

Critique of violence and empowerment. Toward a theory of communicative power

Katrin Kinzelbach (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Austria)

Debating traditional gender roles and opposing violence through political poetry in Somalia

Lene Hansen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

Security, Subjectivity, and Experiential Epistemology: Rethinking Feminist Security Studies through Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*

Lorenzo Santoro (University of Warwick, UK)

Regeneration, Violence and Comradery as Gender Masculine strategies in early Fascism

Discussant: Dibyesh Anand (University of Westminster, UK)

### **Panel 4: Violence, policy-making and advocacy**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Lene Hansen (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

Anne Jenichen (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Switzerland)

Multi-level advocacy processes in the field of women's rights in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

Line Nyhagen Predelli (Loughborough University, UK)

Women's organisations and claims-making in the UK, with a focus on policies addressing violence against women

Andrea Krizsan and Raluca Maria Popa (Central European University, Budapest)

Gender Equality Mechanisms and Domestic Violence Policies in Central and Eastern Europe: An Uneasy Engagement?

Celeste Montoya (University of Colorado, USA)

Social Movements, International Organizations, and Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in the European Union

Discussant: Jennifer Skulte-Ouaiss (Lebanese American University, Lebanon)

## SECTION 6: **Development and democracy**

*Section chair:* Shirin Rai

### **Panel 1: Gendered politics of representation**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Petra Debusscher (Ghent University, Belgium)

Mehmet ARI (Inonu University, Turkey)

Women MPs in a Paternalist Assembly: An Analysis of Turkish Grand National Assembly

Ayşe Ayata and Özlem Gölgelioğlu (Middle East Technical University, Turkey)  
New Conservatism, New Representatives: Limits of Women's Representations

Yunju Cho (Ewha Womans University, Korea)

Philippines kinship politics and women's political participation

Núria Fernández García (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Leader Media Construction. Hillary Rodham Clinton's Media Treatment. Analysis of the Spanish Print Media

Discussant: Petra Debusscher (Ghent University, Belgium)

### **Panel 2: Gendering international actors and trends**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Heather M. Turcotte (University of Connecticut, USA)

Rahel Kunz (University of Lucerne, Switzerland)

The disciplinary power of the new Global Remittance Trend: A critical gender analysis

Theresia Oedl-Wieser (Federal Institute for Less-Favoured and Mountainous Areas, Austria)

How to resolve the incompatibility problem between CAP / RDP and Gender Equality?

Petra Debusscher (Ghent University, Belgium)

Gender in EU Development Policy: assessment of the Country Strategy Papers

Stefanie Kessler (University of Bremen, Germany)

EU as global actor – discourses and practices of gender: A feminist constructivist approach to research

Discussant: Heather M. Turcotte (University of Connecticut, USA)

**Panel 3: Engendering democracy**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Georgina Waylen (University of Sheffield, UK)

Cickaric Lilijana (Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrado, Serbia)

Theorising Gender and Politics in Emerging Democracy

Aderonke Majekodunmi (University of Lagos, Nigeria)

Engendering Democracy in Nigeria

Plangsat Bitrus Dayil (University of Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria)

Engendering Gender in Nigerian;-Mainstreaming women participation in the Nigerian politics.

Elizabeth Sidney (International Federation of Women Against Fundamentalism and for Equality)

Empowering Women for Peace and Democracy

Discussant: Georgina Waylen (University of Sheffield, UK)

**Panel 4: Local movements and transnational feminisms**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Shirin Rai (University of Warwick, UK)

Heather M. Turcotte (University of Connecticut, USA)

Petro-Sexual Politics as Geopolitical Writings of Accountability: Negotiating Democratic Foreclosures and Possibilities of Transnational Feminisms

José G. Vargas-Hernández (Instituto Tecnológico de Cd. Guzmán, México)

Indegenous Movements and Indegenous Political Ecology in Latin America

Debra J. Liebowitz (Drew University, USA)

Change, Efficacy and Activism: Local Implementation of Women's Human Rights

Marie Campbell and Katherine Teghtsoonian (University of Victoria, BC Canada)

Aid Effectiveness and women's empowerment: practices of governance in the funding of international development

Discussant: Shirin Rai (University of Warwick, UK)

**Panel 5: Feminism after Socialism: Twenty Years in Retrospect and Prospect**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Katja M. Guenther (University of California, USA)

Magda Grabowska and Joanna Regulaska (Rutgers University, USA)

Feminisms of the 'Second World': The Production of New Identities

Katja M. Guenther (University of California, USA)  
The Possibilities and Pitfalls of State-Centered 'NGO Feminism' in Post-Socialist Europe.

Lynne Haney (New York University, USA)  
Reading the Past from the Gender Politics of the Present

Karen Kapusta-Pofahl (Washburn University of Topeka, USA)  
Of Easts and Wests? Transnational Feminisms, Global Gender Studies, and the (Post-Socialist?) Politics of Representation (Recast)"

Discussant: Barbara Einhorn (University of Sussex, UK)

## SECTION 7: States and Public Policies

*Section chair:* Amy Mazur

### **Panel 1: Rereading Governance and Governmentality: Complementary Approaches to State Transformations**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Stefanie Wöhl (University of Vienna, Austria)

Gülay Caglar (Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany)

Rereading global economic governance from a discourse theoretical perspective: entry points for a feminist research agenda

Helena Schwenken (University of Kassel, Germany)

Why a governmentality perspective tells us more about anti-trafficking campaigns than a global governance approach

Stefanie Wöhl and Gundula Ludwig (University of Vienna, Austria)

Governmentality and Gender: Current Transformations of Gender Regimes revisited from a Foucauldian perspective

Cristina Chiva (University of Salford, UK)

Gender Equality Policies in an Enlarged European Union

Discussant: Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna, Austria)

### **Panel 2: Gender and ‘Nested Newness’: theorizing the limits of institutional innovation within existing systems**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Michelle Beyeler (University of Bern, Switzerland)

Fiona Mackay (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Institutionalising ‘new politics’ in post devolution UK: nested newness and the gendered limits of change.

Louise Chappell (University of Sydney, Australia/ University of Leiden, Netherlands)

When is a new institution not a new institution? The limits to expanding gender justice through the International Criminal Court

Meryl Kenny (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

The Gendered Dynamics of Institutional Innovation: Party Reform Processes in the Institutions of Candidate Selection and Recruitment in the United Kingdom

Jill Vickers (Carleton University, Canada)

Federalism, Devolution and Multidimensional Politics: The Impact of Changing State Architectures on Gender Politics

Discussant: Georgina Waylen (University of Sheffield, UK)

**Panel 3: Conditional Representation: women representing women in local, national and global political arenas**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Rainbow Murray (University of London, UK)

S. Laurel Weldon (Purdue University, USA)

Intersectionality and Political Representation: Class, Gender and Public Policy

Katherine A.R. Opello (The City University of New York-Kingsborough Community College, USA)

Do Women Represent Women in France? The case of France's regional councils

Maxime Forest (Université de Strasbourg, France)

Constructing women's interests in the EU-27? The case of the Committee for Women's Rights and Gender Equality at the European Parliament, 2004-2008

Réjane Sénac-Slawinski (Ecole Normale Supérieure, France)

Parity laws: equality under condition?

Discussant: Karen Bird (McMaster University, Canada)

**Panel 4. Challenges to Implementing Gender Mainstreaming in the EU**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Lucie Coley (Queens University Belfast, N. Ireland)

Marjolein Paantjens, (Free University of Brussels, Belgium)

Implementing Gender Mainstreaming in the Netherlands and Belgium

Petra Meier (University of Antwerp, Belgium) and Karen Celis (University College Ghent – University Ghent, Belgium)

When measuring becomes the aim. Implementing gender mainstreaming in policy practices.

Eveline Cortier (University College Ghent – University Ghent, Belgium)

Implementing gender mainstreaming: when academics enter the policy arena

Discussant: Violetta Zentai (Central European University, Hungary)

**Panel 5: Challenges of gender mainstreaming**

Panel session 5: Thursday 22/01/09 14.00-15.30

Chair: Amy Mazur (Washington State University, USA)

Alba Alonso Álvarez (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain)  
Gender mainstreaming in the Spanish regions: achieving the leadership?

Eva Wittbom (Stockholm University, Sweden)  
Management control for gender mainstreaming in the Swedish public sector

Olena Hankivsky and Ashlee Christoffersen (Simon Fraser University, Canada)  
Gender Mainstreaming in the UK: Current Issues and Future Challenges

Discussant: Amy Mazur (Washington State University, USA)

**Panel 6. Dynamics and Determinants of Gendered Public Policy: A Country Case Study Approach**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Malin Rönnblom (Umeå University, Sweden)

Claire Annesley and Francesca Gains (University of Manchester, UK)  
Gendering Outcomes in Public Policy: Opportunities and Constraints in the Case of New Labour

Deborah Brennan (University Of New South Wales, Australia)  
The Politics Of Work/Family Reconciliation In Australia: Feminism, Fertility And Finance

Alessia Donà (University of Trento, Italy)  
Why is it so difficult to gender the Italian Welfare State? The case of work-family reconciliation policies

Milja Saari (University of Helsinki, Finland)  
The Parliament had too high hopes” – wage surveys as an policy instrument for pay equity at Finnish workplaces

Discussant: Diana Auth (Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen, Germany)

**Panel 7: Equality in Gender + Equality policies in Europe**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chairs: Violetta Zentai (Central European University, Hungary)

Tamás Dombos et al. (Central European University, Budapest)  
Critical Frame Analysis: A Comparative Methodology for the QUING Project

Malin Rönnblom et al. (Umeå University, Sweden)

## An Intersectionality Approach in Policy Analysis

Emanuela Lombardo et al (Universidad Complutense Madrid, Spain)  
Framing Gender and Other Inequalities in the European Union Gender Equality Policies (1995-2007)

Roman Kuhar et al. (Peace Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
The Politics of Intimacy in Europe: Comparative Frame Analysis of Intimate Citizenship Issues

Discussant: Jane Freedman (Université de Paris 1, France)

## **Panel 8: Theorizing gender governance in the EU**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chairs: Gabriele Abels (University of Tübingen, Germany)

Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero (Queen's University Belfast, N. Ireland)  
The EU Gender Regime and Cosmopolitan Democracy: A Feminist Case Study

Lucie Coley (Queen's University Belfast, N. Ireland)  
Applying the politics of recognition to gender and employment in the European Union.

Gabriele Abels (University of Tübingen, Germany)  
Gendering participatory democracy in the EU – empirical evidence and theoretical issues

Jane Freedman (Université de Paris 1, France)  
Gender in the Euromed Relations

Discussant: Joyce Mushaben (University of Missouri, USA)



## SECTION 8: **Identity and Multiculturalism**

*Section chair:* Sawitri Saharso

### **Panel 1: Values, Equality and Differences in Liberal Democracies. Debates about Muslim headscarves.**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Leila Hadj-Abdou and Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna, Austria)

Leila Hadj-Abdou and Sieglinde Rosenberger (University of Vienna, Austria)  
The headscarf issue and the far right. From anti-feminism to gender-equality?

Nora Gresch (University of Vienna, Austria) and Petra Rostock (Free University Berlin, Germany)

Democratic paradoxes - Rights and values in European headscarf debates

Doutje Lettinga and Conny Roggeband (VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands)  
A nation in defence of gender equality? Comparing the political debates over headscarves and honour related crimes in the Netherlands and France

Ilker Attac and Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna, Austria)  
Re-Negotiating "European Values": Framing Strategies of Headscarf Debates

Discussant: Mieke Verloo (University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands)

### **Panel 2: Institutionalising Intersectionality - Comparative Analyses**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Johanna Kantola (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Emanuela Lombardo (Universidad Complutense Madrid, Spain) and Mieke Verloo (University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands)

'Gender' and 'Equality' in the European Union. Policy developments and contestations

Kristina Koldinska (Charles University Prague, the Czech Republic)  
Equality Bodies in New Member States and their Role in Intersectionality

Maria Bustelo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain)  
The case of Spain: Good on gender policies but a low one in intersectionality

Hege Skjeie (University of Oslo, Norway)  
Multidimensional equality: theory and judicial practice in Norway

Discussant: S. Laurel Weldon (Purdue University, USA)

**Panel 3: Gender and multiculturalism**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Karen Bird (McMaster University, Canada)

Rikke Andreassen (Malmö University, Sweden)

Headscarves and gender struggles in the media

Gily Coene & Chia Longman (Ghent University, Belgium)

Pro-hijab activism, feminism and multiculturalism

Eric Leise (Georgetown University, USA)

Queering the Whitespace: Beyond assimilation and multiculturalism

Ilgin Yorukoglu (City University of New York, USA)

What is so different when it comes to violence? A critical reading of 'honor killings' in Germany

Discussant: Sawitri Saharso (Free University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

**Panel 4: Gender, ethnicity and representation**

Panel session 6: Thu 22/01/09 16.00-17.30

Chair: Rikke Andreassen (Malmö University, Sweden)

Karen Bird (McMaster University, Canada)

Barriers and Gateways to Descriptive Representation: The Effects of Candidate Ethnicity and Gender on Voter Choice in Canada

Anne Maria Holli (University of Helsinki, Finland)

The representation of women and minorities in the parliamentary standing committees in Finland

Eléonore Lépinard (Université de Montréal, QC Canada)

Guarding gender equality in a multicultural world? The conundrum of contemporary women's mobilization in France and Canada

Victoria Montgomery (Queen's University Belfast, N. Ireland)

How Oppressive is Progressive? Muslim Women and Radical Models of Integration

Discussant: Conny Roggeband (VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

**Panel 5: Identities**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Eléonore Lépinard (Université de Montréal, QC Canada)

S. Uecker and J. C. (Whitehead Pacific University, USA)

Disordering Legal Gender Identity

K. Watene (University of Saint Andrews, UK)  
Culture & Identity (Capabilities Approach)

J. Gavin White (New Jersey City University, USA)  
Black Identity

M. Silvestre and E. Bartolome (University of Deusto, Spain)  
Identity mother, moral relativism

Dicussant: Eléonore Lépinard (Université de Montréal, QC Canada)

## SECTION 9: **Citizenship**

*Section chair:* Birte Siim

### **Panel 1: Reconceptualization of citizenship**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Aino Saarinen (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Faith Armitage (Birkbeck College, University of London, UK)  
What is Relational Equality?

Annelies Decat (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium)  
Reconceptualizing citizenship

Veerle Draulans (Catholic University Leuven, Belgium)  
Embodies citizenship: Female Corporeality and Conflict

Birgit Schippers (St. Mary's University College Belfast, N. Ireland)  
From Corporeal Feminism to Corporeal Citizenship?

Discussant: Piri Kazanci (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

### **Panel 2: Gender, Migration and Citizenship**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Birte Siim (Aalborg University, Denmark)

Anja Weckwert (Frankfurt University, Germany)  
Setting the Boundaries for Social Citizenship. The Case of Gender and Migration in the German Welfare State.

Laura Block (European University Institute, Italy)  
Love to Move or Move to Love? Institutional responses to marriage migration in Germany

Anna Boucher (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)  
“Picking the best and the brightest”: Gendering skilled immigration selection policy

Monica Threlfall (Loughborough University, UK)  
Feeling represented: Citizens' subjective needs and preferences for political representation in a multicultural Europe

Discussant: Birte Siim (Aalborg University, Denmark)

**Panel 3: Political citizenship, feminism and women's activism**

Panel session 4: Thursday 22/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Annelies Decat (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium)

Sara Ababneh ( University of Oxford, UK)

Women inside the Islamic Action Front: politics of everyday resistance

Cristina Bonnet-Acosta (Stanford University, USA)

Becoming Human, Becoming Women: Strategies of Cultural Survival among Tibetan Women in exile

Smadar Lavie (Macalester College, USA)

Mizrahi Feminism and the Question of Palestine: Gendering the Race of Israel's Ashkenazi Feminism.

Aino Saarinen (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Russian women immigrants and gender and politics: constructions and agency

Discussant: Annelies Decat (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium)

**Panel 4: Political citizenship, representation and women's interests**

Panel session 7: Fri 23/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Christina Fiig (Aalborg University, Denmark)

Ana Espírito-Santo, (European University Institute, Italy)

The impact of female representation on citizens' political involvement

Jenny Hansson ( Umeå University, Sweden)

Housework, Career and Influence opportunities of Parliamentarians: a structural equation modelling comparison between Sweden and Germany.

Jaana Kuusipalo, lecturer (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Gendered Political Representation in Finland.

Anouk Lloren (University of Geneva, Switzerland)

Women's substantial representation in Switzerland (1999-2007): women elites and citizens voting behaviours towards women's interests.

Discussant: Christina Fiig (Aalborg University, Denmark)

**Panel 5 Gendering the local, the public sphere and the nation**

Panel session 8: Fri 23/01/09 11.30-13.00

Chair: Birte Siim (Aalborg University, Denmark)

Christina Fiig (Aalborg University, Denmark)

Media, Gender and Politics in Denmark.

Piril Kazanci (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

Gendered Citizenship and 'Sublime Nationhood' in Turkish School Textbooks

Maria de la Fuente Vázquez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain)

Is local sphere an opportunity for gendering social citizenship?

Molly Tambor (Bernard College, USA)

Cold War Feminism: Cultures of Activism for Catholic and Communist Women in Italy

Discussant: Aino Saarinen (University of Helsinki, Finland)

## SECTION 10: **Feminism and the International**

*Section chair:* Christine Sylvester

### **Panel 1: Representations of Women and Gender in the International**

Panel Session 1: Wed 21/01/09 13.00-14.30

Chair: Christine Sylvester (Lancaster University UK)

Gesa Zinn (University of Minnesota Duluth, USA)

Female Exiles in Twentieth and Twenty-first Century European Literature, Film and Culture: Home and Country through a Gendered Lens

Masum Momaya (International Museum of Women, Palo Alto, USA)

Creating “The International” in Cyberspace

Christina Rowley (University of Bristol, UK)

Reflections on researching cultural representations of militarised masculinities in IR: Text and audience

Jemima Repo and Riina Yrjölä (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Gender, Christianity and the Celebrity Cause of Africa

Discussant: Christine Sylvester (Lancaster University UK)

### **Panel 2: Women in International Politics I**

Panel Session 2: Wed 21/01/09 15.00-16.30

Chair: Richard Langlais (Nordregio Stockholm, Sweden)

Jeanne L. Hamilton-Bick (Central European University, Budapest)

Women’s Access to Leadership: Dominant Discourses of the (Neo-) Liberal within Global Media Spectacle

Richard Langlais, Måns Andersson and Seema Arora Jonsson (Nordregio Stockholm, Sweden)

Gendered structures of climate change response across multiple levels: constructing an annotated bibliography

Anna van der Vleuten (Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands)

Gender in inter-regional politics: the European Union as gender mainstreamer

Mona Lena Krook (Washington University in St. Louis, USA) and Jacqui True (University of Auckland, New Zealand)

Global Strategies for Gender Equality: Comparing Quotas and Mainstreaming

Discussant: Simona Sharoni (Women's Studies Department SUNY at Plattsburgh)

**Panel 3: Women in International Politics II**

Panel Session 3: Thu 22/01/09 9.30-11.00

Chair: Marysia Zalewski (University of Aberdeen, UK)

Jemima Repo (University of Helsinki, Finland)

Japanese gender equality discourse in international context: Legitimising demographic policy with UN gender equality objectives

Shubhra Seth (University of Delhi, India)

Party Leaders or Puppets-Women in South Asian Politics

Elin Bjarnegard and Par Zetterberg (Uppsala University, Sweden)

The impact of gender quotas on political party recruitment: towards a theoretical framework

Kate Bedford (University of Kent, Canterbury UK)

Productive Partnerships: The Political Economy of Gender Sharing in International Development policy.

Discussant: Marysia Zalewski (University of Aberdeen, UK)

**Panel 4: The International and the Transnational in Feminist Thinking**

Panel session 5: Thursday 22/01/09 14.00-15.30

Chair: Simona Sharoni (Women's Studies Department SUNY at Plattsburgh)

Simona Sharoni (Women's Studies Department SUNY at Plattsburgh)

Transnational Solidarity and Feminist Travel in the Age of Empire: Prospects and Challenges

Senem Kaptan (Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey)

Follow the Women, Ride for Peace

Janou Vorderwuelbecke (Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Italy)

International Women's Solidarity or Diplomatic Caution? German social-democratic women and the 'Troubles', 1976-1978.

Marjaana Jauhola (Aberystwyth University, UK)

How to read heteronormativity in (post)coloniality? Gender mainstreaming advocacy in post-tsunami Aceh, Indonesia

Discussant: Saskia Wieringa (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)