

## Workshop Abstracts

### **Allen, Matt, 'Undermining gender roles in Japan: Women in the coalmines during the Allied Occupation'**

This paper focuses on the anecdotal experiences of women who worked as coalminers during World War II, and who were marginalised in the chaos of the postwar settlement. While US and Japanese authorities were concerned with enacting social, political, cultural, and economic policy, the position of those working in remote locations was effectively overlooked. Particularly in the smaller coalmines of the Chikuhō region, the so-called 'engine of Japan's wartime economy', the end of the war passed almost unnoticed for the first few months.

Following Japan's surrender, it could be expected that foreign 'forced labourers' would be repatriated, and women workers who had been coopted to work at the coal face would once more resume their status as coal sorters as men returned from war to take up their former occupations. This did not occur. Indeed, poor communications between the Occupation authorities and local governments, inadequate surveillance of the circumstances in the remote coal producing areas, and perhaps most importantly, the panopticon-like control over people's lives exerted by the mining management and their *yakuza* labour controllers, reflected the inequities of life in these areas. This paper attempts to extract some of the tensions between the position of those women who worked in the mines, and the larger-scale rhetoric of state policy-makers.

**Bio note:** Matt Allen is Professor of History, and Head of the School of History and Politics at the University of Wollongong. He has conducted research on organised crime, violence, and labour history in Japan, identity and conflict in Okinawa, shamanism and gender politics, ethnopsychiatry, popular culture and globalisation, and his most recent work focuses on culinary globalisation. His major publications include *Undermining the Japanese Miracle*, (Cambridge UP), *Identity and Resistance in Okinawa* (Rowman and Littlefield) and *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan* (with Rumi Sakamoto - Routledge). He has published numerous chapters in collected editions, and articles in anthropology, psychiatry and history journals. He also owns (in absentia) a vanilla farm in Far North Queensland.

### **Appleby, Roslyn, 'Looking like predators: Gender dimensions of military and aid interventions in East Timor'**

This paper considers the gendered impact on Australian women engaged in aid workers in East Timor during the time of the INTERFET intervention. Drawing on interview accounts from women employed in aid programs between 2000 and 2002, I argue that international development missions co-located with military interventions have reproduced the patriarchal regimes of an earlier colonial era. In doing so, they provide a challenging and at times threatening context for women development workers. Just as colonial space, away from the safety of home, was primarily constructed as a domain of masculine endeavour, so too contemporary development missions, particularly in areas designated as politically unstable and in need of military control, produce a masculine domain that marginalises 'unruly others' defined by gender and race.

**Bio note:** Roslyn is a lecturer in academic and professional language and literacy at the University of Technology, Sydney. Her research interests include the cultural politics of English language, feminist geographies, and postcolonial studies of English language and international development. Her doctoral thesis,

completed in 2006, focused on the relationship between English language teaching and gender relations in the context of Australian aid projects in Indonesia and East Timor.

**Buchanan, Cate, launching *Sexed Pistols: The Gendered Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons*.**

**Bio note:** Cate Buchanan has a degree in International Relations and Development Studies from the Australian National University, as well as extensive experience of working in violence prevention. Before joining the Humanitarian Dialogue Centre (Geneva) in 2001 to manage the arms-and violence-reduction portfolio, she worked: in violence refuges; as an advocate for Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation; as a legal researcher for a public-sector union; and as an organiser for the Climate Action Network. In 2000, she was the programme associate for disarmament for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Geneva, and then worked for the International Action Network on Small Arms as the New York liaison officer. In 2005 she was based in Brazil on secondment to Viva Rio as an adviser. In 2008 Cate returned to Australia and remains associated with the Humanitarian Dialogue Centre, in addition to working as an independent consultant on concerns including armed violence reduction, gender and community security initiatives as well as survivors of gun violence, trauma and violently acquired disability.

**Clapham, Kathleen, Convenor of the Woolyungah workshop, 'The Northern Territory Intervention: A grassroots perspective'**

**Bio note:** Professor Kathleen Clapham (BA Hons, PhD) is a descendent of the Murrawarri people of Far West New South Wales. She is the Director of the Woolyungah Indigenous Centre, Convenor of the Aboriginal Studies Program at the University of Wollongong and has a PhD in Anthropology. Her current research interests include injury prevention in Indigenous communities, Indigenous child health and resilience and Indigenous community development.

**Dalton, Emma, 'Discourses of Japanese womanhood and politics since the Allied Occupation'**

Japanese women did not gain political rights until after the conclusion of the Asia-Pacific War. There was, however, a very active suffrage movement, which had been active for some decades prior to the war. The result of this movement in combination with the occupation's policy of 'democratisation' was that Japanese women were granted equal political rights with Japanese men in 1946. The occupation authorities believed that Japanese women were severely oppressed and that in giving them political and other civil rights (such as property rights in marriage) they were rescuing them from oppression by Japanese men who were barbaric and cruel. Nevertheless, women's political rights were bestowed with cautions. In terms of political representation, female politicians were advised not form a women's bloc, but to strive to represent the interests of the 'people of Japan'. Female voters were also taught how to exercise their political rights in a way that would benefit their children and families. Radicalism and feminism were therefore reined in as the politically active woman came to be discursively constructed as the mother and wife concerned with her family and community. This paper follows the path of the discursively constructed political woman to consider the long-term effects of the occupation's post-war policies and discourses regarding women in politics.

**Bio note:** Emma Dalton is a PhD candidate at the University of Wollongong, affiliated with the university's Centre for Asia-Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS) and the School of Social Sciences, Media and Communication. Her research focuses on the under-representation of women in Japan's Liberal Democratic Party. She is interested in gender discourses and practices in Japan and her research is grounded in feminist

theories. She obtained her BA Hons and Masters in Japanese Interpreting and Translating from the University of Queensland. Her most recent published work is: “A masculinised party culture: Obstacles facing women in Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party”, refereed proceedings of the 17th Biennial Conference of the ASAA, 2008.

**de Matos, Christine, 'Occupation masculinities: Australian and Japanese men in Hiroshima, 1946-1952'**

Stephen Garton (1998) has claimed that ‘war masculinity’ is both diverse and contradictory, and that war both constructed and problematised masculinity. Masculinity, like femininity, is relational, and its constant negotiation is measured against an “Other”—via gender, race or age (Roper & Tosh, 1991: 1). Sinha (1995:1) has argued that colonial masculinity ‘points towards the multiple axes along which power was exercised in colonial India: among or within the colonizers and the colonized as well as between colonizers and colonized.’

These observations also apply to the occupier and occupied in the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952). The Occupation was a transitional space where asymmetrical power relations resembled the colonial context. In this occupation/colonised space, Japanese masculine identities were challenged—a crisis in masculinity brought about by defeat in war—and the reconstruction of Japanese masculinity was intricately entwined with the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the nation. In the discourse of the occupation forces, Japanese masculinity was constructed as deformed, in turn reflecting a deformed nation that justified Japan’s defeat in war and subsequent occupation. The hegemonic masculinity of the Australian occupier—white, middle-class and heterosexual—was therefore discursively constructed as superior, but also challenged by perceptions amongst both Japanese and Americans that the US was the ‘real’ victor and a hostile Australian press that portrayed them as seditious and immoral in their ‘fraternisation’ with the enemy. This paper briefly explores Australian and Japanese masculinities as linked to “race” and whiteness, nation and power in the military occupation context in order to contribute to a more gendered understanding of identity, war and peacemaking.

**Bio data:** Christine de Matos is a Research Fellow in the Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS) at the University of Wollongong, Australia. de Matos is currently analysing the everyday practice of power in relations between Australians (occupier) and Japanese (occupied) during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952) using gender, race and class. Her book, *Imposing Peace and Prosperity: Australia, Social Justice and Labour Reform in Occupied Japan* (2008), examines the policies of the Australian government towards the labour movement in occupied Japan. She has also co-edited, with Robin Gerster, a collection of papers titled *Occupying the 'Other': Australia and military occupations from Japan to Iraq* (2009).

**Lee-Koo, Katrina, ‘Gender-based violence against civilian women in post-invasion Iraq: (Re) Politicising George W. Bush’s silent legacy’**

The purpose of this paper will be to reveal the extent to which the dramatic increase in gender-based violence against civilian women in Iraq over the past six years has been a direct product of the 2003 US-led intervention and occupation of that country. It begins by outlining the complex nature of the gender-based violence (which has been largely neglected in academic accounts of this conflict) and the impact that it has had upon civilian women in Iraq. In doing so this article outlines the direct links between this violence and the post-invasion period. This article then examines the manner in which this violence was either politicised or marginalised in service of the ambitions of this war as directed by the administration of former US President George W. Bush. In short, this paper seeks to (re)politicise gender-based violence through a feminist lens and argues that the security of Iraq’s women is

fundamental to the security and stability of Iraq as a whole.

**Bio note:** Katrina Lee-Koo is a Lecturer in International Relations at the Australian National University. Her key areas of research include critical security studies, feminist international relations theory, and the gendered politics of conflict and post-conflict zones. She is the co-editor of *Gender and Global Politics in the Asia Pacific* (2009 with Bina D'Costa) and recently published a review of Australian Feminist IR in *Australian Journal of Politics and History* (55:3, 2009). She has recently contributed chapters to Alex Bellamy, *et al*, eds, *Security and the 'War on Terror'* (2008); Anthony Burke and Matt McDonald, eds, *Critical Security in the Asia-Pacific* (2007) and Richard Devetak, *et al*, eds, *An Introduction to International Relations: Australian Perspectives* (2007).

### **Lumby, Bronwyn**

**Bio note:** Bronwyn (BA Hons) is a descendant of the Nukuna people of South Australia, but was born in Wollongong and considers Wollongong her home. She is an Executive Director of the Echidna Group of Indigenous consultants. Her experience includes working in Indigenous community controlled organisations in a management capacity, lecturing in Aboriginal Studies at the University of Wollongong, and as a researcher at the University of Technology, Sydney. Bronwyn is currently completing a Doctor of Philosophy researching the politics of Indigenous identity.

### **McLelland, Mark, 'Sadistic women and masochist men: The fad for *ryōki* or “curiosity hunting” in Japan's early postwar press'**

Much English-language scholarship on the impact of the US Occupation on Japanese ideas about gender and sexuality has had two main emphases: (1) the exploitation and commoditization of Japanese women's bodies by the Occupation forces and (2) the conservative nature of gender reform that continued to define women in terms of their roles as wives and mothers. Recent scholars have further developed this second angle: reading occupation-time sexual dynamics as symptomatic of Cold War containment politics. These readings have tended to focus on the impact of “top-down” policies and initiatives enacted or supported by the Occupation authorities (and inherited by the Japanese government). However a “bottom-up” reading of popular culture texts of the period reveals a far more anarchic situation in which gender and sexual identities and practices were more complex and fluid than conventionally assumed. Of particular interest is a genre of *ryōki* or “curiosity hunting” stories and reports that explored the worlds of the “sadistic woman”, the “male-dresser”, and the “Lesbos lover” – identities that expressed female agency at the expense of their male analogues, the “masochist man”, the “female-dresser” and the “Sodomite”. The widespread interest in and endorsement of *ryōki* in the early postwar media evinces popular resistance to official Occupation and Japanese government attempts to regulate sexual interests, practices and identities.

**Bio note:** Mark McLelland is Associate Professor and Convenor of the Sociology Program at UOW. He is a sociologist and cultural historian of Japan specialising in the history of sexuality, gender theory and new media. His recent publications have focused on the postwar history of Japanese queer cultures and the development of the Internet in Japan, especially the use of the Internet and other new media by minority communities in Japan and throughout Asia. He is currently working on a long term book project tentatively entitled: ['Kissing is a symbol of Democracy: Dating Democracy and Romance in Japan Under the Occupation 1945-52'](#). Mark was the 2007/08 Toyota Visiting Professor of Japanese at the Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan.

### **Myrntinen, Henri, 'Histories of violence, states of denial—masculinities and violence in post-**

## **conflict Timor-Leste'**

The paper, which is based on the field research for my Ph.D. thesis, looks at the interplay between violence and male gender role expectations in post-conflict Timor-Leste. Having emerged from 450 years of Portuguese colonialism and 24 years of Indonesian military occupation, East Timorese society remains highly conflicted, as the 2006 crisis very vividly proved. Socio-economically marginalised young men who have joined gangs, martial and ritual arts groups are generally seen as the main driving force behind this instability. The paper argues that while this is in part the case, the picture is rather more complicated.

The violent enactments of masculinity displayed by the gang members are the result of a long history of violence and conflict, but also of the socio-cultural space given to men to use violence both in the public and private space (e.g. gender-based violence) to resolve conflicts. Gang masculinities draw on traditional East Timorese concepts of warrior masculinity and the heroism of the anti-Indonesian resistance struggle but also amalgamate global media influences and cultural tropes adopted from Indonesia. The international peacekeeping presence, in the meantime, has in many ways become a foil for these enactments. The paper will conclude with a discussion of how these violent enactments of masculinity, results of conflict and occupation, can be 'demobilised.'

**Bio note:** Henri Myrntinen is a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa, and has recently completed his doctoral thesis on the interplay between concepts of masculinity and violence in East Timorese militia groups, gangs, martial arts and ritual arts groups. Henri has been working and publishing on issues of gender and conflict in the Southeast Asian region, especially on Timor-Leste and Indonesia, and has also recently co-edited a book on the gendered impact of small arms, *Sexed Pistols* (United Nations University Press, 2009, to be launched at the workshop).

## **Sakamoto Rumi, 'Representations of the "pan-pan girls" in postwar Japanese literature'**

This paper looks at some literary representations of the 'pan-pan girls' in postwar Japan. 'Pan-pan' is a derogatory term for street prostitutes who (mostly) served the soldiers of the occupying forces. Immediately after the war, the Japanese government established the RAA (Recreation Amusement Association) and employed several thousand women to provide sexual services for foreign soldiers, ostensibly to protect Japanese women of middle and upper classes from rape and other violence. When the RAA was closed down in 1946 due to the US concern over widespread VD, many of the women who lost their jobs went out on the street and became private and illegal prostitutes – the pan-pan girls.

With their red lipstick, cigarettes, nylon stockings and high-heel shoes, often holding onto the arms of tall, uniformed American GIs, the 'pan-pan girls' became a symbol of the occupation, and have been textually reproduced throughout the postwar period. This paper analyses the images and representations of the 'pan-pan girls' in postwar literature, to consider how the 'pan-pan girls' have functioned as a metaphor for the occupation and contributed to the public memory construction of the occupation. I identify some major codes of representations (victimisation, humiliation, and national trauma; eroticism and decadence; sexual freedom and materialism) and argue that the highly gendered and sexualised bodies of the 'pan-pan girls' have continued to allow simplistic and selective remembering of the occupation and the forgetting of Japanese patriarchy.

**Bio note:** Rumi Sakamoto is senior lecturer at School of Asian Studies, The University of Auckland. She is a co-editor (with Matt Allen) of *Popular Culture Globalisation and Japan* (Routledge 2006). Her current research interests are Japanese national identity and nationalism in the context of globalisation and Japan-Asia relations,

in particular youth nationalism in manga and the Internet. Her publications relevant to this workshop's theme include: 'The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery: Legal and feminist approaches to the "comfort women" issue' (in *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 3, No 1, 2001) and 'Comfort Women, National Apology and Feminist Politics' in Edwina Palmer ed. *Asian Futures, Asian Traditions* (Global Oriental 2005).

**Sandy, Miliwanga (keynote): 'The Northern Territory Intervention: A grassroots perspective'.**  
Woolyungah public workshop.

Almost two and a half years ago, on 21 June 2007, the Conservative Howard government introduced the Northern Territory Intervention to address what was described as the 'national emergency confronting the welfare of Aboriginal children' following the release of the '*Little Children are Sacred*' Report. The Rudd Labor government continued with the policy despite criticism that the Federal government had suspended the Racial Discrimination Act, stigmatised Aboriginal people and deliberately ignored the views of Aboriginal people, offering them no choice in their future. While the set of broad ranging welfare and other measures, including alcohol restrictions, compulsory income management, and the acquisition of townships through leases, has had a far-reaching effect on the lives of Indigenous men and women of the Northern Territory, the majority of white Australians have barely noticed; the intervention has been out of sight and out of mind, or at least until recent government announcements about the extension of such measures to other parts of Australian society.

This workshop, led by Miliwanga Sandy, provides a unique opportunity to hear about life under the intervention and its impact on Indigenous men, women and young people from the perspective of a Northern Territory traditional community woman. Participants will be actively invited to ask questions and participate in the discussion of this important issue.

**Bio notes:** Miliwanga Sandy is one of the Aboriginal community elders of the Wugularr (Formerly Beswick) community, a township of 100km outside of Katherine in the Northern Territory. Miliwanga was born 'out in the bush' at Barunga and describes herself as a very traditional woman who is very strong in her culture. She has four children, all girls, and three grandchildren. She is also both an artist and a linguist who helped to translate the Creole Bible, the only bible in that language in Australia. Miliwanga teaches cultural activities to local Aboriginal school children as well as to non-Indigenous people. She is involved in a range of Indigenous issues which include health, housing, education and the rights and freedom of her people.

**Simić, Olivera, 'Unintended consequences of peace operations: Peacekeepers and sex in East Timor and Bosnia and Herzegovina'**

My paper will analyse the zero tolerance approach to sex in UN peacekeeping operations. It will critically examine the consequences of peacekeepers presence in Timor Leste and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) with respect to a various sexual relationships they engaged in while on missions. In this context, the phenomenon of 'peace babies' which emerged in INTERFET and a recent case of Marko Susnja, a boy fathered and abandoned by a peacekeeper who served in Timor Leste, will be explored. By drawing on the interviews with peacekeepers who served in Timor Leste, and local women from BiH who had sexual relationships with peacekeepers during the UNMIBH, the paper will argue that zero tolerance policy translated in a 'strong discouragement' and prohibition of sex between peacekeepers and local women is not the best solution to prevent sexual exploitation in the future.

**Bio data:** Olivera Simić is a doctoral candidate in Law at University of Melbourne. She graduated from Essex

University, UK with a Masters in International Human Rights Law and from UN University for Peace, Costa Rica with Masters in Gender and Peacebuilding. Her work has been published in Europe, the USA and Australia. Contact: [osimic73@gmail.com](mailto:osimic73@gmail.com)

### **Smith, Angela, ‘Intimacy at work: Australian women and development in East Timor’**

In East Timor, Australia’s ongoing intervention is remarkably gendered. On the basis of original qualitative research conducted with Australian women development workers in East Timor, this paper introduces a politics of gendered identities into the critical anthropology of development. In doing so, it attempts to fill a gap in ‘gender and development’ literature, which often views gender as a framework only applicable to the so-called beneficiaries of development.

This paper will examine the motivations, reflections, investments and identities of Australian women in the highly affective and highly gendered development encounter in East Timor. It will examine the women’s narratives about their work and their identities as they negotiate the complex moral and emotional terrain of development. The paper argues that development needs to be understood as an intimate encounter, based on desire, which needs to be contextualised within broader discourses of gender, race and nation. It will consider the ways that the relationships of theory/practice and global/local articulate through the identities of these women. By analysing the performed narratives of women development workers, this paper contributes to contemporary and empirically grounded understandings of how discourses of power are perpetuated and resisted by Western women in the postcolonial present.

**Bio data:** Angela Smith works as a development worker in the International Programs section of Oxfam Australia. Angela has a background in gender studies, media and communication, and documentary film. Angela’s interests include critical anthropologies of development, the gendered politics of international development, and the role of identity and affect in international relations. Angela has particular interest in discourses of development and nationhood in East Timor, India and Bangladesh.

### **Takazato Suzuyo (keynote), ‘Okinawa: Women’s struggle for demilitarisation’**

Okinawa, the southernmost territory of Japan, has been recognised as the ‘key stone of the Pacific’ in US military strategy and has hosted US military bases since the end of World War II. Seventy five percent of US military facilities, used exclusively by the US military in Japan, are located on the islands of Okinawa—0.6 per cent of the entire land area of Japan.

Peace movements in Okinawa, centred around issues of sovereignty and land expropriation by the US military in the post-WWII period, have a long history of struggle. We, ‘Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence’, have called for closer attention to sexual violence by US soldiers as a critical issue of ‘security’. We have argued that militarism and sexism inevitably feed each other, and sexual violence by US soldiers against women in a host nation is a manifestation of such interplay in the global system of patriarchy, the foundation of the militarised security system. By analysing the US military presence in Okinawa from a gendered perspective, we explore possibilities and means for the demilitarisation of the present global security system.

**Bio note:** Suzuyo TAKAZATO is a long-time activist and is currently: a co-chair of Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (established in 1995); a chair of Okinawa Rape Emergency Intervention Counseling Center Okinawa (established in 1995); co-chair of Okinawa Citizen’s Peace Network (established in 2000); and

a founding member of the International Women's Network Against Militarism (established in 1997). She trained as a social worker, and served four terms as an elected member of Naha City Assembly as an independent candidate (1989-2004). She is also the author of *Women in Okinawa – Women's human rights and the US Military Presence (Okinawa no Onnatachi: Josei no Kinsen to Kichi Guntai, 1996)*.

### **Tamura Keiko, discussant.**

**Bio note:** Keiko Tamura is a Research Fellow at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University. She worked for the Australia-Japan Research Project at the Australian War Memorial as the project manager until October 2009. Her PhD thesis in anthropology at the Australian National University on the topic of Japanese war brides in Australia was published as *Michi's Memories: the Story of a Japanese war bride* in 2001. She was awarded the Harold White Fellowship at the National Library of Australia in 2002 and the Japan Foundation Research Fellowship in 2005. In 2007, she published *Forever Foreign: Expatriate Lives in Historical Kobe* from the National Library of Australia.

### **Tanji Miyume, 'US military bases in Okinawa and Guam: Gendered aspects'**

The well-being and human rights of residents are often not sufficiently protected against the US military's needs. Such abuses are often compounded in economically underdeveloped communities living with US military bases that are also inhabited by ethnic minorities. Instead of seeing living with military bases as processes of victimisation, this project focuses on the experiences of local communities as active agents. Among others, it focuses on internal diversity within Okinawa and Guam. Different communities within Okinawa have responded, resisted, and acquiesced to varying ranges of risks and disadvantages imposed by the US bases. The aim of this project is to investigate and analyse the diverse communities' responses across Okinawa and Guam. Among others, it inquires into: What are the gendered aspects of military-community relations?; What are the roles of social movements and transnational networks of political activism for women's rights, environmental protection and de-militarisation?

**Bio note:** Dr Miyume Tanji is a Research Fellow at CASAAP and Centre for Human Rights Education, Curtin University of Technology in Perth, Western Australia. Her current research focusses on communities living with US military bases, especially those in Okinawa and Guam. Miyume is the author of *Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2006) and articles in journals such as *Critical Asian Studies* and *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. Miyume has a doctorate degree in Politics from Murdoch University and a Master's degree in International Relations from the Australian National University. She also teaches International Relations. She can be contacted at [M.Tanji@curtin.edu.au](mailto:M.Tanji@curtin.edu.au).

### **Ward, Rowena, 'Japanese women post the disappearance of Manchukuo: A gender whirlpool'**

The Soviet invasion of Manchukuo on 9 August 1945 ended Japan's imperialistic endeavours in the area and ushered in the beginning of the Soviet occupation, which was replaced less than a year later by a return to Chinese control. The effects of these shifts in power on the Japanese women in Manchukuo were profound. Some living near the Soviet border became refugees, others were interned by the Soviets and transported to the Soviet Union whilst others, under orders from their mostly male Japanese leaders, committed suicide. Whilst some women returned to Japan during the official periodic repatriation periods in place until 1958, others did not make the 'return' until after the normalisation of relations between Japan and the PRC in 1972.

This paper explores the complex position of the Japanese women in the context of the various gendered notions that accompanied the shift from Japanese to Soviet to Chinese control. In the case of the Chinese, these gendered notions were often compounded by attitudes to the Japanese as oppressors. Examples of two categories of women are used to explore the gender whirlpool which the women found themselves in. One group is the little known group of female political prisoners who were interned in the Soviet Union until the 1950s. The other is the *zanryū fujin* (stranded women) or those who were aged 13 years or over in 1945 and who for numerous reasons were unable to return to Japan. For this group in particular, the gender whirlpool has an ongoing impact.

**Bio note:** Rowena Ward is a lecturer in Japanese in the Language Centre, Faculty of Arts, UoW. She is interested in the experiences and repatriation of Japanese civilians residing outside the naichi (the mainland) at the time of the Japanese surrender in August 1945. This research covers questions of gender, national identity and Japan's relations with various states in the Asia-Pacific region. Rowena wrote her PhD on the interrelationship between modern Japanese ideas of 'race' and nation and the placement of foreign migrant workers in the contemporary Japanese labour market.

### **Winter, Bronwyn, 'Lily pads and leisure meccas':<sup>1</sup> The gendered political economy of post-base and post-9/11 Philippines'**

The Philippines have received surprisingly little international feminist attention in post-9/11 discussion of the Asia-Pacific region. Yet, the Philippines have been a key economic and military site for the US for well over a century, and generally perceived, following George W. Bush's first State of the Union address in 2002, as the 'second front' in the post-9/11 'Operation Enduring Freedom', with willing, even enthusiastic, Philippine cooperation. Tracing the post-9/11 Philippines story is thus important for feminist understanding of military interventions in the region and post-9/11 issues more generally.

The official US story of the post-base and especially post-9/11 era of US-Philippine cooperation is one of more efficient, cheaper and more discreet military presence focused primarily around training of local military, increased "awareness" of civilians and increased humanitarian aid. The official Philippine story is one of peacebuilding, negotiations with the Muslim minority while protecting human security, and building economic prosperity while maintaining moral values and protecting women from violence and trafficking. The story told by local communities and NGOs, and by feminist observers, is, however, an entirely different one. This paper will cast a feminist eye over the disjuncture between the rhetoric and the reality in the Philippines, and suggest issues it raises for transnational feminist analysis and action.

<sup>1</sup> The term 'leisure meccas' is used to describe the former 'military jewels' of Clark and Subic by explicitly 'Christian' marketing company Clark Subic Marketing. [www.clarksubicmarketing.com](http://www.clarksubicmarketing.com), accessed 25 July 2009.

**Bio note:** Bronwyn Winter works in the Dept of French Studies at the University of Sydney, where she teaches in areas that range from postcolonial studies to French intellectual and social history, from international and global studies to comparative literature. Her latest book *Hijab and the Republic: Uncovering the French Headscarf Debate* (Syracuse University Press 2008) explores the complex political tangle of gender, religion, ethnicity and the state in France over the last two decades, and her current monograph in progress, *9/11 Emergency: Has September 11, 2001 changed the world for women?* follows on from her work on the international anthology *September 11, 2001: Feminist Perspectives* (Hawthorne and Winter (eds), Spinifex

---

2002), expanding that work to include, among other sites, the Philippines.