

CAPSTRANS Winter Workshop on  
Gender and Border Security in the Asia-Pacific

**30 June – 1 July 2006**

***BOOK OF ABSTRACTS***

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Centre for Asia Pacific  
Social Transformation Studies



***Suez to Suva***

***ARC Asia Pacific Futures Research Network***



## WORKSHOP PROGRAM

**Friday 30 June**

9.30	Welcome and overview (with morning tea)
10.00-12.30	<p><b>Mentors' seminar: Trends in Research on Gender and Border Security</b></p> <p>Dr Dina M. Siddiqi (University of Pennsylvania)  A/Prof Lenore Lyons (University of Wollongong)  Dr Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase (University of Wollongong)</p>
12.30-1.30	Lunch
1.30 – 3.00	<p><b>Presentations:</b></p> <p>Caroline Spencer “The political economy of Japan’s prostitution industry in the economic bubble of the 1960-80s” (Asia Institute, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne)</p> <p>Mohita Roman “The Comfort Woman Issue, Collaboration and Nationalism through a Contemporary Lens”(Monash University)</p> <p>Emma Dalton “The gendered dimensions of being the Japanese foreign minister: did Tanaka Makiko “make a difference”?” (CAPSTRANS, University of Wollongong)</p>
3.30 – 4.00	Afternoon Tea
3.30 – 5.00	<p><b>Presentations:</b></p> <p>Kumiko Kawashima “Escape to the ‘free and equal’ West?: Japanese migration to Australia” (Gender Relations Centre, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University)</p> <p>Sara Niner “‘Feto no Labarik Hakarak Dame Iha Nasaun Timor-Leste’, Gender and Security in Timor-Leste”, (Research Associate, School of Population Health, University of Melbourne)</p> <p>Tahmina Rashid “Militarised masculinities, Female Bodies and Border Security in Post 9/11 Pakistan” (Honorary Fellow, Centre for the Study of Contemporary Islam, University of Melbourne)</p>

## Saturday 1 July

9.30-10.30	<b>Presentations</b>  Adelyn Lim “She’s Just Like My Mother: Organising for Sex Worker Rights in Hong Kong” (Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University)  Anne Loveband “A War Of Words: Imagining The Nation And Foreign Domestic Workers In Indonesia And Taiwan”, (CAPSTRANS, University of Wollongong)
10.30-11.00	Morning Tea
11.00-12.30	<b>Mentors’ seminar: Establishing an Academic Career</b>  Dr Michele Ford (University of Sydney)– “Starting out in a teaching and research career” Dr Georgine Clarsen (University of Wollongong) – “Applying for postdocs” Prof Vera Mackie (University of Melbourne) – “Publishing: hints and tips”
12.30-1.30	Lunch

## **Emma Dalton**

### **The gendered dimensions of being the Japanese foreign minister: did Tanaka Makiko “make a difference”?**

This paper is concerned with the question of whether women “make a difference” in politics and international relations —specifically in the Japanese context, and more specifically, whether the gender of Tanaka Makiko, as foreign minister, made a difference not only to the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)’s foreign policies, but to the LDP’s treatment of her as well as the Japanese public perception of women in power. This paper adopts Tanaka Makiko as an example of a woman in a politically powerful position and analyses how she reached that position and what kind of an impact, if any, she made on Japanese foreign diplomacy and domestic policies as well. This analysis also examines the popularity of women in politics and, specifically in the Japanese context, investigates the question of whether the popularity of a woman in power can be associated with widely-held notions of femininity. Her popularity can, in some measure, be attributed to her flamboyant and straight-talking style and her famous late father; but her being a woman was also very appealing to the Japanese public.

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# **Kumiko Kawashima**

## **Escape to the 'free and equal' West?: Japanese migration to Australia**

Transnational mobility as a form of sojourn has been increasingly common, and Japanese migration to Australia in forms such as working holiday and study abroad is an epitome of this. 20 interviews were conducted between November 2005 and May 2006 as part of a larger project. The interviewees were in their 20-30's, all migrated voluntarily and initially entered Australia on their own and on a temporary visa. The findings show common factors in their narratives such as a sense of temporariness of their migration, a vague sense of purpose and a relative lack of desire for material gain, and undecided future plans. Gender, race and language also prominently featured in their stories of experiences in Sydney as migrants. This paper critiques the past literature that claimed Japanese migration to the west is an escape from gender repressive Japan to the equal and free west, and argues that if it is a form of escape, it is largely an escape from the sense of being tied down. This is discussed in relation to the desire for authentic experience, continuously creating life options, and the paradoxical need for traditional practices.

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## **Adelyn Lim**

### **She's Just Like My Mother: Organising for Sex Worker Rights in Hong Kong**

This paper examines the initiatives of Action for REACH OUT and *Zi Teng* in organising for sex worker rights in Hong Kong. The first part of the paper discusses the growing recognition of sex work as trade work within the Hong Kong women's movement. I suggest that the apathy towards sex workers, a significant number being non-residents, and the hesitation in acknowledging the problems they encounter within the women's movement is due to the indigenous nature of women's NGOs in Hong Kong, and therefore, their inclination towards issues relating to Hong Kong women. This section also reflects upon the ongoing debate surrounding the concept of sex work within the international women's movement. In the second part of the paper, I examine the initiatives of Action for REACH OUT and *Zi Teng* in advancing sex work as trade work, eliminating social discrimination of sex workers, and developing a support network for women working within the sex industry in Hong Kong. Despite different approaches in addressing the situation of sex workers in Hong Kong, I illustrate how both NGOs have been able to involve sex workers in their distinct initiatives.

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## **Anne Loveband**

### **A War of Words:**

#### **Imagining the Nation and Foreign Domestic Workers in Indonesia and Taiwan.**

This paper seeks to draw out some of the complexities and ambiguities in discursive representations of foreign domestic workers in Indonesia and Taiwan. These constructions simultaneously vie for dominance in the public imagining at a time when migrant workers, especially foreign domestic workers, have become an important focal point for the ways in which the nation is imagined in both sending and receiving countries. This range of representations can continue to exist side by side in a *relatively* unproblematic way until an incident occurs which forces these discursive undercurrents into a turbulent war of words. This is when the implicit becomes explicit and we can witness the overt clash over the imaginings of the nation fuelled by various interest groups including the state. This case study is instructive for several reasons. It is ethnographically illuminating in its comparison of the dynamic, and often contradictory, production of 'knowledge' about foreign domestic workers as *citizens* in Indonesia and as *non-citizens* in Taiwan. This in turn, not only demonstrates the fallibility of essentialist portrayals but highlights the way in which the personhood of the foreign domestic worker has been co-opted in debates over the moral nature of the nation. More broadly speaking, this analysis highlights the extent to which this form of female migration has become so passionately bound to issues of national identity within a range of highly contested nationalist discourses.

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## **Sara Niner**

### ***'Feto no Labarik Hakarak Dame Iha Nasaun Timor-Leste'*** **Gender and Security in Timor-Leste, June 2006**

The impact of recent events in Timor-Leste has been profound for the new nation and its people. One of the issues confounding an understanding of the current crisis is its complexity. The causes lie in a complex mix of elite political divisions, fractures in the general community, poverty and disillusionment with independence. Past trauma and lack of international justice is also deeply disturbing for many Timorese. Prior to the current crisis most in Timor were focussed on the long-term reconstruction of their lives, communities and nation. Now more than ever long-term peace and security building programs are required along alongside measures aimed at alleviating poverty and all of its terrible effects. However at some point the underlying causes of this crisis must be addressed. Endemic poverty and the discrimination against women are some of them. Strengthening community and support structures for poor women and their families is of great importance. Assisting self-initiated projects that provide an income and pride and self-reliance to women are invaluable.

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## **Tahmina Rashid**

### **Militarized Masculinities, Female Bodies and Border Security in Post 9/11 Pakistan**

Modern nation state was based on the premise to protect and secure the members of the political community from threats emanating from the dangerous, foreign realm outside state boundaries. The state however, made invisible half of its population by structurally excluding them from defense and policy making roles in the name of their protection, their honour, and their bodies. The nations glorify warriors and sing war songs to protect “mother land”, excluding women’s voices as inauthentic since they are the one in need of protection, without even raising the question, “protection from whom”. Women have to barter protection (promises of) security in exchange of obedience/subordination, defining the borders of male and female place, perpetuating domestic violence through such sharp public-private division. Women become "the objects of masculinist social control not only through direct violence (murder, rape, battering, incest), but also through ideological constructs, such as 'women's work' and the cult of motherhood, that justify structural violence--inadequate health care, sexual harassment, and sex-segregated wages, rights and resources" Pakistani state has legally reduced women’s citizenship rights to state protection by declaring men their legal guardians (Wali). The situation is further complicated by the fact that despite international condemnation and pressure, the discriminatory laws are still in the statute books. Pakistani state typically denies women the opportunity to be societal "protectors," assigning to them the role of "protected" despite the predatory threat often posed by their ostensible guardians. Women bodies in Pakistan remain legally in control of men of the family, therefore state has relinquished its responsibility for inland protection to men. Since the protector has a fear of failure, therefore to avoid such embarrassment and frustration in his failure to protect, he restricts his protectee instead. The state in Pakistan has effectively transferred insecurity to the individuals, thus privatizing and depoliticizing gender insecurity

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## **Mohita Roman**

### **The Comfort Woman Issue, Collaboration and Nationalism through a Contemporary Lens**

In this paper I have analyzed some causes that lead to the Korean Comfort Women issue to be buried for half a century. The Comfort Women issue failed to surface and gather attention from the public and the government in Korea after Korea obtained independence from Japan in 1945. Benefactors from colonial rule, chaotic economic and political situation and governments' focus on achieving economic development and industrialization and the subsequent dependence on Japan's economic aid which influenced the bilateral relations to a large extent were reasons that played a crucial role towards the ignorance of the issue for five decades. Therefore, it is my analysis that two factors that will be discussed in detail in this paper, collaboration with the Japanese authorities and the geo-political situation of Korea leading to economic dependence on Japan were decisive factors for the issue to remain unresolved and analysis of these will allow us to examine an important aspect of the unresolved conflict between the two countries.

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## Caroline Spencer

### **The political economy of Japan's prostitution industry in the economic bubble of the 1960-80s**

The Japanese bubble economy of the 1980s quickly and massively expanded a range of domestic industries, including the prostitution industry. During this decade, the trafficking of women into Japan for prostitution and pornography reached its peak, and the Japanese sex industry expanded its markets into East Asia, particularly South Korea. The sex industry also diversified its domestic activities during this time; the prostitution of teenage girls [*enjokosai*] became a defined industry sector, and the industry led the world in the production of child pornography. Women and girls as a commodity made enormous profits for the industry in the 1980s. A staunchly neo-liberal economic policy during this decade meant that, like other industries based on exploitation, the sex industry in Japan flourished, and government seemed to do little to curb its growth. My paper examines Japanese public policy on prostitution and pornography during the 1960-80s to determine how the industry was able to diversify so widely. While my study views prostitution in Japan as an industrial sector, I do not suggest that the industry is legitimate, or that women in the industry are 'workers'. Rather, using Japan as an example, I aim to demonstrate that the systematic abuse and exploitation of women and girls in a highly developed prostitution industry comes about through specific economic, social, and political policy enacted by government. That the prostitution industry was able to so successfully embed itself in the Japanese economy, as well as the economies of East Asia, during the economic bubble decades suggests that this policy was effective, as well as far reaching.

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